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A  
COLLECTION OF ADDRESSES

TRANSMITTED BY CERTAIN

ENGLISH CLUBS AND SOCIETIES

TO THE

NATIONAL CONVENTION OF FRANCE.

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[ PRICE TWO SHILLINGS. ]



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# COLLECTION OF ADDRESSES

TRANSMITTED BY CERTAIN

ENGLISH CLUBS AND SOCIETIES

TO THE

*NATIONAL CONVENTION OF FRANCE;*

THE DECREE OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL RESPECTING THE SCHELDT;

AND

EXTRACTS FROM SEVERAL TREATIES, RESPECTING THE NAVIGATION  
OF THAT RIVER;

AND ALSO,

CERTAIN DECREES OF THE NATIONAL CONVENTION;

LE BRUN'S REPORT;

THE SPEECHES OF M. M. CAMBON, DUPONT, AND KERSAINT.

WITH

SEVERAL OTHER INTERESTING PAPERS,

TENDING CHIEFLY TO SHEW THE GENERAL VIEWS OF FRANCE WITH RESPECT TO THIS AND  
OTHER COUNTRIES.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED,

EXTRACTS FROM THE SEDITIOUS RESOLUTIONS OF THE ENGLISH SOCIETIES;  
A LIST OF THOSE SOCIETIES.

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LONDON:

PRINTED FOR J. DEBRET, PICCADILLY.

1793.



# COLLECTION OF ALPHABETS

OF THE AMERICAN INDIANS

THESE ALPHABETS WERE  
OBTAINED FROM THE  
INDIANS BY THE  
MISSIONARIES OF THE  
SOCIETY OF JESUITS  
IN THE SEVENTEENTH  
CENTURY

THESE ALPHABETS  
WERE USED BY THE  
INDIANS TO WRITE  
THEIR OWN LANGUAGES  
AND TO CORRESPOND  
WITH THE MISSIONARIES

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ADVERTISEMENT.

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THAT the Public may judge of the disposition of certain individuals in this Country, and of the nature of the intercourse which they have held with persons in *France*---that they may form a just idea of the conduct of *France* towards all Neutral Nations; towards our Allies, and towards this Country itself, the following Papers are collected, and laid before them,

No further Comment is made, because the Papers speak for themselves: they contain principles, if they can be so called, subversive of all Justice, and of every Law upon which Nations have hitherto acted; and evidently demonstrate the determined hostility of *France* towards this Country.



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## A D D R E S S E S, &c.

*Adresse de la Societé de Newington, à la Convention Nationale, datée du 31<sup>eme</sup> Octobre, 1792. Lue dans la Séance du 10<sup>ieme</sup> Nov. 1792.*

*Adresse des Amis du Peuple de la Grand Brétagne de la Ville de Newington, à la Convention Nationale de la République Française. Londres, le 31<sup>me</sup> Oct. 1792.*

**F**RANCOIS et Concitoyens du Monde : Réunis à l'effet d'obtenir une Représentation juste et égale du Peuple, et une Reforme entière des Abus nombreux qui se sont glissés dans le Gouvernement de ce Pays, nous voyons, avec autant de peine que d'Inquiétude, les efforts ouverts ou cachés qu'on ne cesse de faire pour troubler la Paix, et renverser la Liberté nouvelle de la Nation Francoise. Nous vous félicitons cependant bien cordialement de la défaite et de l'expulsion totale des Armées Combinées de ces despotes insensés, de ces Rebelles impies qui sont venus porter la Desolation dans vos Campagnes, le ravage dans vos Villes, et massacrer impitoyablement leurs innocens habitans. La Bonté de votre Cause devoit être couronnée du Succès; votre Sagesse, votre Bravoure l'ont assuré; vos sages decrets ont déjà éclairé l'Europe; et pareils aux Rayons du Soleil, ils éclaireront bientôt les quatre parties du Monde: les deux grands Remparts de la Liberté humaine sont les Corps législatif et judiciaire; en organisant bien le second, vous vous êtes assuré les avantages du premier. Vous avez depuis donné une Preuve de votre sagesse consommée en tenant les pouvoirs législatif, judiciaire et executif entièrement distincts, et en déclarant que les deux derniers seroient respectivement responsables au grand Conseil de la Nation. C'est désormais en France que la Justice sera administrée à peu de Frais; que le Commerce, sous vos Loix salutaires, sera utilement protégé, et que les propriétés de l'Industrie seront partout assurées.

Sénateurs illustres ! Législateurs éclairés, chers Amis, nous pouvons vous informer aujourd'hui, et avec une Satisfaction bien vraie, que l'Inimitié impie, si long tems et si méchamment entretenue dans le Cœur d'un Peuple généreux

*Address from the Society of Newington to the National Convention, dated the 31<sup>st</sup> October, 1792. Read in the Sitting of the 10<sup>th</sup> November.*

*Address from the Friends of the People of the Town of Newington, to the National Convention. London the 31<sup>st</sup> Oct. 1792.*

### TRANSLATION.

**F**RENCHMEN and Brother-Citizens of the World : Being united in order to obtain a just and equal Representation of the People, and an entire Reform of the numberless Abuses which have crept in upon the Government of this Country, we see with as much pain as uneasiness the open or secret efforts which are made to disturb the Peace and overthrow the New Liberty of the French Nation. We congratulate you, however, very cordially on the total Defeat and Expulsion of the Combined Armies of those senseless Despots and their impious Rebels, who came to desolate your Fields, ravage your Towns, and massacre the innocent Inhabitants : the goodness of your Cause could not but be crowned with Success ; your Wisdom and Valour have ensured it ; your wise Decrees have enlightened Europe, and, like the rays of the Sun, will soon enlighten the four parts of the World. The two great bulwarks of human Liberty are the legislative and Judiciary Bodies ; by a proper organization of the latter, you have ensured to yourselves the advantage of the former. You have since given a proof of your consummate wisdom, by keeping the Legislative, Judiciary and Executive Powers entirely distinct, and by declaring that the two latter should be respectively responsible to the Grand Council of the Nation. It will be in France that Justice will henceforward be administered at little expence, that Commerce, by your salutary Laws, will be usefully protected, and that the product of industry will be every where ensured.

Illustrious Senators, dear Friends, enlightened Legislators, we can inform you at this day, and with the truest Satisfaction, that the impious enmity so long and malignantly kept up in the hearts of a generous People towards the French Nation, by the manœuvres and intrigues



généreux envers la Nation Francoise, par les Manœuvres et l'Intrigue d'une Cour perfide, n'existe plus que dans l'ame des pervers qui profitent des Abus, et que nous saluons d'avance avec transport l'heureux moment qui reunira les deux Nations d'un bien indissoluble, comme le Précurseur de la Paix et de la Concorde universelle.

C'est avec la plus vive et la plus profonde Sensibilité que nous contemplons le Succès de vos Armes dans votre Entreprise glorieuse d'arracher à l'Esclavage et au Despotisme les braves Nations qui bordent vos Frontières : Combien est sainte l'Humanité qui vous porte à briser leurs fers

(Signé)

JOHN FRED. SCHIEFFER, PRESIDENT.  
FRANK PEACOCK, SECRETAIRE.

trigues of a perfidious Court, exists no more but in the hearts of the perverse, who profit by Abuses, and that we anticipate with transport the happy moment that shall unite the two Nations by an indissoluble bond, as the forerunner of universal peace and concord,

It is with the warmest and most profound sensibility that we behold the success of your Arms, in your *undertaking to deliver from Slavery and Despotism the brave Nations which border your Frontiers* : How holy is the Humanity which prompts you to break their Chains.

(Signed)

JOHN FREDERICK SKIPPER, PRESIDENT.  
FRANCIS PEACOCK, SECRETARY.

*The President then read the Answer he had written to five English Societies :*

ENGLISHMEN, and Brother-Citizens of the World : The National Convention has heard with the warmest Sensibility, the generous Declaration of the English Citizens who cordially unite with us in our labours.

The sentiments of 5000 Britons, devoted openly to the cause of Mankind, exists without doubt in the Hearts of all the Freemen in England.

Let them not still consider the Neutrality as a reproach, while they are Spectators of the grand struggle for Liberty against Despotism—their respect for a Constitution which they have learnt to judge in silence, is no longer that antiquated Superstition which promised to Government the impunity of its faults ; it is rather the effect of a prudent and political gravity, of which *being able to temper its force, seems to command the Government to observe that Neutrality*, and to warn it to be as just, or at least as prudent as the Nation.

Believe, generous Englishmen, that by following that System, you do not less concur with us in the grand work of Liberty. Let us advance some steps further in that career in which you were our Precursors, and let us enjoy by anticipation, and with a common hope, that Epocha (doubtless not far distant) when the Interests of Europe and of Mankind shall invite the two Nations to stretch out the hand of Fraternity.

(This Answer was adopted.)

*Addresse*



*Adresse de la Societ  de la Revolution de Londres  
  la Convention Nationale, dat e du 5 Nov. 1792  
Lue dans la Seance du 11er Novembre.*

*Un Secr taire fait lecture de la pi ce suivante  
Adresse de la Societ  de la Revolution de Lon-  
dres,   la Convention Nationale de France.*

CITOYENS Fran ois, la Societ  institu e pour perp tuer la M moire de la Revolution de la Grande Br tagne, vous fait cette Adresse avec le plus sincere respect.

Sur la proposition de l'un de nos Membres, le feu Docteur PRICE, dont nous regrettons la perte, nous vous avons d j  f licit  de vos premiers succ s dans la cause commune de la Libert , et nous ne pouvons garder le silence dans une  poque aussi fertile en  v nements. Quand m me les Ennemis qui ont envahis la France ravageroient encore vos Villes, nous vous ferions toujours cette Adresse, dans l'espoir qu'une Nation qui ne combat pas seulement pour elle m me, mais encore pour tout le genre humain, finiroit par  tre victorieuse. Les Tyrans qui vous menacoient se sont retir s honteusement, et les amis de la Libert  de tous les pays partagent la joie de vos triomphes.

Nous nous r jouissons surtout de votre derni re R volution du 10 Aout, qui  toit si n cessaire pour vous assurer les avantages que la premi re avoit fait esp rer; et nous anticipons avec plaisir le moment ou vous aurez achev  vos travaux, et fond  un Gouvernement sage et equitable, qui puisse  tre l'admiration des amis de l'homme, et la terreur et le d sespoir des Tyrans.

Repr sentans d'un peuple, nous honorons aujourd'hui la m moire de nos braves Ancetres, qui r sisterent   la tyrannie de CHARLES premier, et nous c l brons la R volution qui chassa son fils. Nous ne pouvons pas douter du droit qui appartient   tous les peuples de faire r sistance   l'oppression; et de se donner telle forme de Gouvernement qui peut leur  tre dict e par leur propre sagesse: ce droit, reconnu dans la th orie par tous les d fenseurs de la libert , fit la base de la R volution que nous

*Address from the Revolution Society, in London, to  
the National Convention, dated 5th of November.  
Read in the Sitting of 1st of November, 1792.*

TRANSLATION.

*A Secretary read the following Address from the  
Revolution Society of London to the National Con-  
vention of France.*

FRENCH CITIZENS, the Society instituted to perpetuate the remembrance of the Revolution of Great Britain, offers you this Address with the sincerest respect. At the suggestion of one of our Members, the late Dr. PRICE, whose loss we regret, we have already congratulated you on your first Successes in the common cause of Liberty; and we cannot be silent at a period so fruitful in events. Even if the Enemies who have invaded France, still raged your Towns, we would not keep back this Address; because we should hope, that a certain Nation, which fights not for itself alone, but for the whole human race, would, in the end, prove victorious. The Tyrants who threatened you have retired with disgrace; and the Friends of Liberty, in all Countries, share the joy of your triumph.

ABOVE ALL, we rejoice in the late Revolution of the 10th of August, so necessary to secure to you the advantages which the former had taught you to expect; and we anticipate with pleasure the moment at which you shall have finished your labours, and established a wise and equitable Government, which must be the Administration of the Friends of Man, and the cause of terror and despair to Tyrants.

Representatives of a Sovereign People, we now honour the Memory of our brave Ancestors, who resisted the Tyranny of CHARLES the First; and we celebrate the Revolution which drove away his Son. We cannot doubt the right which belongs to all Nations to resist Oppression, and to give themselves such a form of Government as their own wisdom may suggest. This right, acknowledged in theory by all the Defenders of Liberty, formed the ground-work of the Revolution which we celebrate;



Nous célébrons; et nous goûtons une douce joie en voyant que ce droit d'insurrection a été exercé avec succès dans une aussi vaste contrée que la République de France.

Nous désirons ardemment que les deux Nations, liées par la nature, mais divisées pendant des siècles par les intrigues des Cours et l'orgueil des Princes, puissent être bientôt unies par l'amour de la paix, et par les services réciproques d'un commerce dégagé de toute espèce d'entraves; nous désirons que la France et la Grande Bretagne, autrefois rivales dans la carrière trompeuse et funeste de l'ambition, n'aient plus maintenant d'autre émulation que celle de faire des efforts pour hâter le règne de la liberté, des lumières et du bonheur de l'humanité et pour faire tellement respecter les droits de l'homme sur toute la terre, que le caractère et les distinctions de tyran et d'esclave, ne soient plus connus que dans l'histoire.

(Signé)

J. TOWERS, PRESIDENT.  
COOPER, SECRETAIRE.

5th November, 1792.

*On lit une Lettre du Président de la Société des Amis de la Liberté et de l'Egalité établie à Belfast, en Irlande. Elle est ainsi conçue.*

COMME Président de l'Assemblée des Citoyens de Belfast en Irlande, je vous envoie l'Expression de ses Sentimens sur la Révolution de la France, et sur la nouvelle de son Achevement Glorieux. Je vous les transmets avec le Respect que un Homme doit à un autre Homme; et dans la sincérité de mon coeur, Je supplie l'Etre suprême pour que, favorisant vos Armes, elles domineroient à jamais les Tyrans. Pour la Gloire de l'Humanité, puisse votre Déclaration des droits être mise partout en pratique, et puisse bientôt la fraternité civique cimenter le Bonheur de l'Univers, et toutes les Religions et les Hommes se réunissent dans un Temple qui ait la Terre pour autel, et l'Estrade du Ciel pour Dôme.

(Signé) SIERT.

lebrate; and we feel an agreeable sensation in beholding THAT THIS RIGHT OF INSURRECTION has been successfully exercised in so large a Country as that of the French Republic.

We ardently desire, that the two Nations, united by Nature, but divided for ages by the intrigues of Courts, and the pride of Princes, may soon be re-united by the love of Peace, and by the reciprocal advantages of a Commerce freed from every kind of restraint. We desire that France and Great Britain, formerly rivals in the deceitful and fatal career of Ambition, may no longer entertain any other spirit of emulation than that which leads to the hastening the reign of Liberty, of Light, and of the happiness of Man; and to the causing the Rights of Man to be so respected over the whole Earth, that the characters and distinctions of Tyrant and Slave may be no longer known, except in History.

(Signed)

J. TOWERS, PRESIDENT.  
— COOPER, SECRETARY.

Nov. 5th, 1792.

*Sitting of the NATIONAL CONVENTION, Nov. 29, 1792.*

*A Letter was read from the President of the Society of the Friends of Liberty and Equality, established at Belfast in Ireland.—It is thus conceived—*

AS President of the Assembly of Citizens of Belfast, in Ireland, I send you the expression of its Sentiments on the Revolution in France, and on the news of its glorious completion. I transmit them to you with the respect which one man owes to another; and, in the sincerity of my heart, I entreat the Supreme Being that your Arms may be so favoured as to overawe Tyrants for ever. *For the Glory of Humanity, may your Declaration of Rights be EVERY WHERE PUT IN PRACTICE; may the Civic Fraternity soon cement the Happiness of the Universe, and may all Religions, and all Men, re-unite themselves in a Temple, which has the Earth for its Altar, and the Sky for its Canopy.*

(Signed) SIERT.



*Declaration faite par l'Assemblée des Volontaires et des Habitans de la Cité de Belfast en Irlande, tenue le 6ieme Nov. 1792: lue dans la Seance du 29ieme, Novembre, 1792.*

NOUS Habitans et Volontaires de la Cité de Belfast, avec des Cœurs pleins de joie, nous assemblons de nouveau pour manifester la satisfaction qui nous causent les glorieux succès remportés par les Armées Francoises contre la horde innombrable de ses ennemis, qui sont aussi ceux de l'Espece Humaine, et leur expulsion totale du Territoire de la Republique; événement qui a levé tous les obstacles à l'établissement de la Liberté Civile et Religieuse chez les Francois, et qui assure la Liberté aux Nations voisines. Nous avons la plus haute opinion de la puissance invincible des hommes libres; mais l'événement a surpassé nos espérances. Lorsque l'on considere la trahison du Pouvoir Exécutif, les perfidies de vos Officiers, l'état de Désorganisation ou étoit l'Armée, la coalition de tant d'ennemis qui paroisoient si formidables, la Réunion des Généraux du premier mérite à la tête des Troupes les plus aguerries, et que l'on voit que de si grands moyens ont été entièrement impuissans, on a peine à le croire; mais l'Univers en a été témoin.

Nous ne pouvons nous empêcher d'attribuer le succès des Armes Francoises à la protection signalée de la Providence; elle a donné un grand exemple des succès dont elle veut couronner les efforts que feront les Peuples pour fonder la Liberté Civile et Religieuse; et nous implorons avec ardeur l'Influence de l'Esprit de la Divinité pour qu'il éclaire et dirige la Convention Nationale dans l'ouvrage de la Constitution qui lui est confié, à fin de donner à cet ouvrage une telle perfection qu'il puisse faire le bonheur des générations présentes et à naître.

(Suit un nombre considerable de Signatures)  
L'Assemblée ordonne l'Impression de cette Adresse, et charge son Président de répondre à la Société de Belfast.

*Adresse*

*Declaration made by the Assembly of Volunteers and Inhabitants of the City of Belfast in Ireland, held the 6th of November, 1792.*

WE, Inhabitants and Volunteers of the City of Belfast, with hearts full of joy, assemble ourselves again, in order to manifest the satisfaction we received from the glorious Successes obtained by the French Armies over the innumerable band of its Enemies, who are also those of the Human Race; and from their total expulsion from the territory of the Republic; an event which has removed all obstacles to the establishment of Civil and Religious Liberty amongst the French, and which secures Liberty to the neighbouring Nations. We have the highest opinion of the invincible power of Free Men, but the event has surpassed our expectations. When the treachery of the Executive Power, the perfidy of your Officers, the undisciplined state in which your Army was, the combination of so many enemies, who appeared so formidable, the union of Generals of the first character, at the head of Troops the most accustomed to service, are considered, and when such great attempts have turned out to be entirely inefficacious, the circumstance appears incredible; but the Universe has been witness of it.

We cannot help attributing the success of the French Arms to the signal protection of Providence, which has given a great example of the success with which it will crown the efforts made by the People, for the purpose of establishing Civil and Religious Liberty; and we ardently implore the Influence of the Divine Spirit, to enlighten and direct the National Convention in the work of the Constitution, which is entrusted to it, that such a degree of perfection may be given to that work, as may produce the happiness of the present, and of future Generations.

A considerable number of Signatures follows.

The Assembly orders the Printing of this Address, and directs its President to reply to the Society of Belfast.

*Address*



*Adresse de plusieurs Sociétés en Angleterre à la Convention Nationale. Lue dans la Séance du 7ième Novembre 1792.*

*On lit une Adresse de plusieurs Sociétés patriotiques d'Angleterre. Elle est ainsi conçue.*

TANDIS que des brigands étrangers, sous le spécieux prétexte de venger la justice, ravagent votre territoire, et portent partout la désolation et la mort: tandis qu'aussi traîtres que perfides, ils ont l'impudence de proclamer, que la compassion et l'amitié sont les seuls motifs de leurs incursions, la partie opprimée de l'humanité, oubliant ses propres maux, ne sent que les vôtres, et contemplant d'un œil inquiet les événemens, adresse au Dieu de l'univers, les prières les plus ferventes, pour qu'il soit favorable à votre cause, à laquelle la leur est si intimement liée.

Avilis par un système oppresseur d'Inquisition, dont les empietemens insensibles, mais continus, ont bientôt ravi à cette nation toute sa liberté tant vantée, et l'ont presque amenée à cet état abject d'esclavage dont vous venez si glorieusement desortir, cinq mille citoyens Anglois transportés d'indignation, ont le courage de s'avancer pour arracher leur pays à l'opprobre dont la couverte la conduite lâche de ceux qui sont revêtus du pouvoir. Ils croient qu'il est du devoir des vrais Bretons, de soutenir et d'assister de tous leurs moyens les défenseurs des droits de l'homme, les propagateurs du bonheur de l'humanité, et de jurer à une Nation qui procède d'après le plan que vous avez adopté, une amitié inviolable. Puisse dès ce jour cette amitié être sacrée entre nous; et puisse la vengeance la plus éclatante tomber sur la tête de l'homme qui tentera d'occasionner une rupture!

François! notre nombre paroitra peu considérable comparativement au reste de la nation, mais sachez que notre nombre augmente chaque jour; et si le bras terrible et constamment levé de l'autorité en impose aux timides; si les impostures répandues à chaque instant avec tant d'industrie, égarent les crédules, et si l'intimité publique de la Cour avec des François reconnus traîtres à leurs pays entraîne les im-

*Address from several Societies in England to the National Convention of France, read in the Sitting of November 7, 1792.*

*The following Address from several Patriotic Societies in England was read.*

WHILST foreign Plunderers, under the specious pretence of avenging justice, ravage your territories, and carry every where desolation and death; while with equal treachery and perfidy they have the impudence to proclaim, that compassion and friendship are the only motives of their incursions, an oppressed part of mankind, forgetting their own evils, are sensible only of yours, and beholding the present events with a disturbed eye, address their most fervent prayers to the God of the Universe, that He may be favourable to your cause, with which theirs is so intimately connected.

Degraded by an oppressive system of Inquisition, the insensible, but continual encroachments of which quickly deprived this Nation of its boasted Liberty, and reduced it almost to that abject state of Slavery, from which you have so gloriously emancipated yourselves, Five Thousand ENGLISH CITIZENS, fired with indignation, have the courage to step forward to rescue their Country from that opprobrium which has been thrown upon it by the base conduct of those who are invested with power; they think it the duty of True Britons to support and assist, with all their might, the Defenders of the Rights of Man, the Propagators of Human Happiness, and to swear eternal friendship to a Nation who pursues the plan which you have adopted: may that friendship be from this day sacred between us — may the most exemplary vengeance fall on the head of that man who shall attempt to dissolve it.

Frenchmen! our numbers will appear very small, when compared with the rest of the Nation; but know that it increases every day, and if the terrible and continually elevated Arm of Authority awakes the timid; if Falsehoods, every moment dispersed with so much industry, mislead the credulous, and if the public intimacy of the Court with Frenchmen, avowed traitors to their country, hurry away the ambitious and unthinking, we can with confidence assure you, Frenchmen and Friends, that Knowledge makes a rapid



imprévoyans et les ambitieux, nous pouvons vous dire aussi avec certitude, hommes libres et amis! que l'instruction fait de progrès rapides parmi nous, que la curiosité s'est emparée de l'esprit public, que le regne inséparable de l'ignorance et du despotisme s'évanouit, et qu'aujourd'hui tous les hommes se demandent : qu'est ce que la liberté? Quels sont nos droits? Francois, vous êtes déjà libres; mais les Bretons se préparent à le devenir.

Dépouilles enfin de ces préjugés cruels, inculqués dans nos Cœurs avec tant d'industrie par de vils courtisans, au lieu d'ennemis naturels, nous ne voyons dans les Francois que nos concitoyens du monde, que les enfans de ce Pere commun, qui nous a tous créés pour nous aimer, pour nous secourir les uns les autres, et non pour nous haïr et être prêts à nous égorger au commandement de Rois foibles ou ambitieux, ou de ministres corrompus. En cherchant nos ennemis cruels, nous les trouvons dans les partisans de cette Aristocratie dévorante qui déchire notre Sein; Aristocratie qui, jusqu'à présent, a été le poison de tous les pays sur la terre. Vous avez agi sagement, en la bannissant de la France.

Quelque fervens que soient nos souhaits pour vos succès, quelque ardens que soient nos desirs de voir la liberté triomphante sur la terre, et l'homme rétabli enfin partout dans la pleine jouissance de ses droits, nous ne pouvons, par un sentiment de notre devoir comme citoyens amis de l'ordre, voler en armes à votre secours. Notre Gouvernement a engagé la foi Nationale, que les Anglois resteroient neutres. Dans une lutte de la liberté contre le despotisme, les Bretons rester neutres! ô honte! mais nous avons donné à notre Roi des pouvoirs à discrétion, il nous faut obéir; nos mains sont enchaînées; mais nos cœurs sont libres, et ils sont avec vous. Que les Despotes Allemands agissent comme ils le voudront, nous nous jouirons de leur chute. En plaignant les malheureux qu'ils tiennent en esclavage, nous nous flattons que leur tyrannie procurera enfin les moyens de rétablir dans la pleine jouissance de leurs droits et de leur liberté, des millions de nos semblables. Nous voyons aussi, sans aucun intérêt, que

*rapid progress among us; that curiosity has taken possession of the minds of the public; that the reign of Ignorance, inseparable from that of Despotism, is vanishing; and that at present all men ask each other, What is Liberty; what are our Rights? Frenchmen, you are already free, but Britons are preparing to be so.*

Divested at length of those cruel prejudices instilled into our hearts with so much industry by base Courtiers, instead of natural enemies, we behold in the French only Citizens of the World, Children of the common Father, who has created us all to love one another, to assist each other mutually, and not to hate each other, and to be ready to cut each other's throats at the command of weak or ambitious Kings, or of corrupt Ministers. Endeavouring to discover our cruel enemies, we have found them in the partisans of that destructive Aristocracy by which our bosom is torn, an Aristocracy which has hitherto been the bane of all the Countries of the Earth. You have acted wisely in banishing it from France.

However fervent may be our wishes for your success, however ardent may be our desires to see Liberty triumphant on the earth, and Mankind every where established in the full possession of their rights, we cannot, from a sense of our duty as Citizens, and Friends to good order, take up arms to assist you. Our Government has pledged the National Faith, that it will remain neuter.

In the struggle of Liberty against Despotism, shall Britons remain neuter? oh shame! but having given our King discretionary powers, we must obey; our hands are fettered, but our hearts are free; and they are with you. Let German Despots act as they please, we shall rejoice in their fall. While we lament those unfortunate people whom they keep in a state of slavery, we flatter ourselves that their tyranny will at length afford them the means of restoring millions of our fellow creatures to the full enjoyment of their rights and liberty. *We see also, without concern, that the Elector of Hanover unites his troops to those of Traitors and Robbers; but the King of England will do well to remember, that England is not Hanover; should he forget*



que l'Electeur d'Hanovre joigne ses troupes à celles des traitres et des brigands; mais le Roi d'Angleterre fera bien de se souvenir que l'Angleterre n'est pas la Hanovre. S'il pouvoit l'oublier, nous ne l'oublierons jamais. Tandis que vous jouissez, freres et amis, de la gloire enviée de défendre seuls la liberté, nous anticipons avec transport sur l'avenir, pour y voir les avantages sans nombre et le bonheur que vous procurerez aux hommes, si vous réussissez, comme nous le desirons ardemment. La triple alliance (non de couronnés) mas des Peuples de l'Amérique, de la France, et de la Grande Bretagne, donnera la liberté à l'Europe et la Paix à l'univers. Chers amis, si vous combattez pour le bonheur de l'humanité entière, est il pour vous aucune perte, quelque sanglante qu'elle soit, comparable à l'avantage glorieux et sans exemple de dire: l'univers est libre! les tyrans et la tyrannie ne sont plus! la paix regne sur la terre, et c'est aux François qu'on le doit.

Signed by Order,

MAURICE MARGAROT, PRESIDENT.  
THOMAS HARDY, SECRETARY.

This Address was unanimously ordered to be printed, and copies of it to be sent to the Armies, and into all the Departments.

The foregoing Address was sent from the Constitutional Society of *Manchester*:

From the Society for Reform in *Manchester*:

From the Society of the Revolution in *Norwich*:

From the Constitutional Independent *Whigs*,  
*Friends of the People*.

Adresse

*forget this, we will not forget it. Whilst you, Friends and Brethren, are enjoying the envied glory of alone defending Liberty, we with pleasure anticipate the future, to behold the innumerable advantages and happiness which you will procure to mankind, as we ardently wish—*  
*A Triple Alliance, not of Crowned Heads, but of the People of America, France, and Great Britain, will give Liberty to Europe, and Peace to the World. Dear Friends, if you combat for the general happiness of mankind, can any loss on your part, however bloody, be comparable to the glorious and unexampled advantages of being able to say, the Universe is free! Tyrants and Tyranny are no more! Peace reigns on the Earth; and it is to the French that Mankind are indebted for it.*

Signed by Order,

MAURICE MARGAROT, PRESIDENT.  
THOMAS HARDY, SECRETARY.

This Address was unanimously ordered to be printed, and copies of it to be sent to the Armies, and to all the Departments.

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*Friends of the People*.

Addres



*Arrêté du Conseil Exécutif, du 16 Novembre, 1792.*

*Paris, Nov. 16.*

LE Conseil Exécutif, délibérant sur l'état actuel de la Guerre notamment dans la Belgique; considérant que nul relâche ne doit être laissé aux ennemis de la République et que tous ses moyens doivent être déployés pour vaincre et détruire leurs Armées, avant qu'ils aient pu les renforcer, et se mettre en état d'attaquer de Nouveau, soit la France, soit les Contrées même où les Armes Françaises ont porté la liberté:

Arrête qu'en conséquence de la Délibération du 14 Octobre dernier, il sera donné des ordres au Général Commandant en Chef de l'Expédition de la Belgique, de continuer à poursuivre les Armées ennemies partout où on leur donneroit Asile.

*Decree of the Executive Council, of the 16th November, 1792.*

*Paris, Nov. 16.*

THE Executive Council, deliberating upon the actual state of the War, particularly in Belgium; considering that no respite ought to be given to the enemies of the Republic, and that all its exertions ought to be used to vanquish and destroy their Armies before they are able to reinforce them, and again to attack either France, or those Countries to which the French Arms have carried Liberty: Resolves, that, in consequence of the Deliberation of the 24th October last, orders shall be given to the General Commander in Chief of the Belgic Expedition, to continue to pursue the Enemies' Armies in all places where refuge may be given them.

*Décret de Fraternité, Séance du 19me Novembre, 1792.*

LA Convention Nationale déclare, au nom de la Nation Française, qu'elle accordera Fraternité et Secours à tous les Peuples qui voudront recouvrer leur Liberté; et charge le Pouvoir Exécutif de donner aux Généraux les Ordres nécessaires pour porter Secours à ces Peuples, et défendre les Citoyens qui auroient été vexés, ou qui pourroient l'être pour la cause de la Liberté.

Il est décrété que ce Décret soit traduit et imprimé dans toutes les langues.

*Decree of Fraternity, Sitting of the 19th November, 1792.*

The National Convention declare, in the name of the French Nation, that they will grant FRATERNITY and Assistance TO ALL PEOPLE who wish to recover their Liberty; and they charge the Executive Power to send the necessary orders to the Generals, to give assistance to such People, and to defend those Citizens who have suffered, or may suffer, in the Cause of Liberty.

SERGEANT—I move that this Decree be translated and printed IN ALL LANGUAGES.

This Proposition is adopted.



*Extrait d'un Papier qui a paru dans la Chronique de Paris le 23ieme Novembre, 1792.*

*Signé CONDORCET.*

ON a distingué parmi les Addresses dont on a fait lecture dans cette séance, celle d'une Société Anglaise établie à Paris, mais dont les communications politiques s'étendent sur divers points de l'Angleterre. La situation actuelle de cet Empire, premier berceau de la Liberté en Europe, et l'asyle constant des hommes de mérite persecutés, lorsque les Despotes et les pretres ne leur en laissoient pour ainsi dire aucun autre, son poids dans ce qu'on appelloit la balance politique, ses relations de tout genre avec la France, meritent de fixer plus particulièrement l'attention de tous les bons esprits.

Gouverné depuis la Revolution par des hommes plus occupés du present que de l'avenir, le Peuple Anglais n'a pas marché vers la Liberté avec l'energie qui lui est naturelle, et qui sembloit devoir s'accroître par ses lumières. Le Ministère Anglais a cru qu'en profitant de la stagnation, ou même de la chute de notre Commerce pour étendre celui de l'Angleterre, il opereroit dans les esprits une distraction utile à ses desseins. Il a cru que les Anglais n'étoient qu'un peuple de negocians, et il s'est trompé. Depuis l'explosion de la Liberté en France, une fermentation sourde s'est manifestée en Angleterre, qui a plus d'une fois deconcerté toutes les operations Ministerielles. Des Sociétés populaires se sont établies dans les trois Royaumes, et on a parlé d'une Réforme Parlementaire, comme à la fin de 1788, on parloit de la nécessité de convoquer les Etats Généraux. On sait la quantité de bons esprits qui éclairent journellement le Peuple Anglois, et donnant matière par leurs opinions à des controverses utiles, ce peuple, qui craint et desire une Revolution semblable à la nôtre, sera nécessairement entraîné par les hommes éclairés et courageux qui déterminent toujours les premiers mouvemens—  
*L'ouverture prochaine de la Session Parlementaire va devenir inmanquablement l'occasion des Réformes les plus instantes, telles que celles à operer dans la Représentation Nationale; DE LA A L'ETABLISSEMENT PARFAIT DE LA REPUBLIQUE, le trajet sera d'autant*

*Extract from a Paper inserted in the Chronique de Paris of the 23d of November, 1792, and signed CONDORCET.*

AMONG the Addresses read in this Sitting, that of an English Society established at Paris, but whose political communications comprehend various points relative to England, was particularly noticed.

The actual situation of that Empire, the first cradle of Liberty in Europe, and the constant asylum of men of merit from persecution, at a time when Despots and Priests had hardly left them any other; its weight in what was called the Political Balance, its relations of all kinds with France, deserve particular attention from all enlightened minds. The English People having been governed since the time of the Revolution by men more intent upon the present than on the future, have not advanced towards Liberty with all that energy which is natural to them, and which it should seem ought to have increased with their lights. The English Ministry hoped to divert the People's attention in a manner serviceable to its views, by taking advantage of the stagnation, or rather the ruin of our Commerce, to extend that of England. They took the English for a people of merchants only; but they were mistaken. Since the explosion of Liberty in France, a hollow fermentation has shewn itself in England, and has more than once disconcerted all the Ministerial operations. Popular Societies have been established in the three kingdoms, and a Parliamentary Reform has been talked of just in the same manner as at the end of the year 1788. We (in France) talked of the necessity of calling together the States General. It is well known what a number of persons there are who think rightly, and daily enlighten the People of England, and whose opinions furnish subjects for useful disputation. This People, who at once fear and desire such a Revolution as ours, will necessarily be drawn along by those courageous and enlightened persons, who always determine the first steps, the opening of the Session of Parliament which approaches, will infallibly become the occasion of the Reforms which are the most urgent; such as those



tant moins long que les bases de la liberté existent depuis long tems en Angleterre. PITT, en proposant peut-être des moyens conciliatoires entre la Cour et le Peuple ne fera qu'irriter les esprits et hater l'effet des lumières dont il a voulu long tems arrêter le cours. Il n'y auroit même rien d'étonnant qu'après avoir tenu à beaucoup d'égards la conduite politique de NECKAR, il en éprouvât le sort.

*those which regard the National Representation—* FROM THENCE TO THE ENTIRE ESTABLISHMENT OF A REPUBLIC—the transition will be the less tedious, because the foundations of Liberty have long existed in England. PITT, in proposing, as perhaps he will do, the means of conciliation between the Court and the People, will only irritate the minds, and hasten the effect of those lights, the progress of which he has for a long time endeavoured to stop. It would not indeed be astonishing, if, after having pursued in many respects the same political conduct as NECKAR, he should experience a similar fate.

*Deputation de la part de la Société Constitutionnelle de Londres, admise à la Convention Nationale de France, le 28ieme Novembre, 1792.*

*Deputation from the Constitutional Society of London, admitted to the National Convention, 28th November, 1792.*

*On admet une Deputation de la Société Constitutionnelle de Londres.*

JOEL BARLOW, JOHN FROST, English Citizens, are admitted to the Bar.

*L'Orateur de cette Deputation :*

One of them pronounces the following Address:

CITOYENS de France, nous sommes Députés par une Société patriotique de Londres, pour vous féliciter en son nom des triomphes de la Liberté. Avant l'Epoque de votre Revolution, cette Société s'étoit formé dans cette espérance délicate. Jugez combien elle a applaudi aux admirables accords de la nation Française; le succès de vos efforts assure aux hommes vertueux que leurs travaux ne resteront plus sans récompense. Des Sociétés pareilles se forment actuellement dans toutes les parties de l'Angleterre. [On applaudit]. Elles s'occupent à rechercher les abus du Gouvernement et les moyens d'y remédier. D'après l'exemple que vient de donner la France, les Révolutions vont devenir faciles. Il ne seroit pas extraordinaire que dans un court espace de tems il arrivât

CITIZENS of France, we are deputed by a Patriotic Society in London, called the Society for Constitutional Information, to congratulate you in its name upon the Triumphs of Liberty. Before the epocha of your Revolution, this Society employed itself but too long upon this important object, with little hope of success. Judge from thence of the transports of its gratitude, when, thanks to the wonderful efforts of the French Nation, it has beheld the Empire of Reason extend and strengthen itself, and assure to virtuous men, by securing the happiness of their fellow-creatures, a recompense to their future labours. Innumerable Societies of the same sort are forming themselves at this moment in every part of England. The minds of all receive from this circumstance



arrivât aussi des félicitations à une Convention Nationale d'Angleterre.

*Un des Secrétaires fait Lecture de l'Adresse de la Société Patriotique de Londres.*

*La Société Constitutionnelle de Londres à la Convention Nationale de France.*

MANDATAIRES d'un Peuple Souverain, et Bienfaiteurs de l'espèce humaine, nous nous trouvons heureux que la Révolution Française ait acquis un degré de perfection qui nous permette de vous donner ces titres, les seuls qu'il convienne de donner à de véritables Législateurs. Les époques successives de votre Régénération politique, ont toutes ajouté quelque chose au triomphe de la Liberté. Et la glorieuse victoire du 10 Août a enfin préparé les voies à une Constitution qui, nous l'espérons de vos lumières, sera fondée sur les bases de la nature et de la raison. En considérant par quels amas d'impostures on s'est efforcé d'obscurcir l'esprit humain, vous ne pouvez être surpris de l'opposition que vous avez éprouvée de la part des Tyrans et des Esclaves. Les deux classes d'individus ont employé contre vous les mêmes moyens. Hélas! dans la combinaison des misères humaines, l'ignorance est en même tems la cause et l'effet de l'oppression et de l'obéissance servile. Ce qui se passe journellement prouve que vous avez conquis l'opinion de tous les peuples placés près de vous sur le Continent; que vous avez réellement pour amie la majorité de ces nations; que leur apparente inimitié n'est qu'une suite passagère de la violence exercée sur elles par leurs Gouvernemens, et qu'elles n'attendent que le moment où vos armes les auront affranchies de la nécessité de vous combattre.

La situation des Anglois est moins déplorable. La main de l'oppression n'a pas encore osé leur ravir entièrement la Liberté d'écrire, ni vous attaquer ouvertement. Tout de feu pour la cause que vous soutenez, nous vous faisons passer nos vœux les plus ardens, pour qu'il ne manque rien à vos progrès et à votre Réussite. C'est

stance a general impression which leads them to fathom the abuses of Government, and to seek the means of remedying them—MEANS AS SIMPLE as the abuses are intricate. *After the example given by France, REVOLUTIONS will become easy: Reason is about to make a rapid progress, and IT WOULD NOT BE EXTRAORDINARY, IF IN A MUCH LESS SPACE OF TIME THAN CAN BE IMAGINED, THE FRENCH SHOULD SEND ADDRESSES OF CONGRATULATION TO A NATIONAL CONVENTION OF ENGLAND.*

We are also instructed to acquaint the Convention, that the Society which we represent, has sent 1000 pair of shoes to be presented as a patriotic gift to the Soldiers of Liberty—these shoes are at Calais. The same Society will send 1000 pair a week for the six next weeks, for the same purpose.

*Afterwards a Secretary read the following Letter:*

*The Society for Constitutional Information in London, to the National Convention of France.*

REPRESENTATIVES of a Sovereign People, and Benefactors of Mankind! *We rejoice that the French Revolution has arrived at that degree of perfection which will permit us to address you by these titles; they are the only ones that can accord with the character of true Legislators. Every successive epocha in your political regeneration has EACH added something to the triumph of Liberty, and the GLORIOUS VICTORY of the 10th of August has finally prepared the way for a Constitution which, enlightened as you are, we trust will be established on the basis of Nature and Reason.*

On considering by what a mass of impostures it has been attempted to darken the human mind, you cannot be surprised at the opposition you have met with both from Tyrants and from Slaves. The instruments used against you by each of these classes of individuals, are the same; for, alas! in the chain of human miseries, ignorance is at once the cause and the effect of oppression and servile obedience.

The events of every day are proving, that you



C'est en effet une cause sacrée; nous la suivons avec amour, comme le gage du bonheur d'un peuple dont la nature a voulu faire notre ami, puis-qu'elle en a fait notre plus proche voisin: notre confiance s'y attache comme au lien d'une union fraternelle entre toutes les branches de la famille humaine. Union à laquelle, si nos espérances ne sont pas vaines, nos Compatriotes seront des premiers à concourir.

Notre Gouvernement a encore le pouvoir, peut-être la volonté de stipendier des plumes venales pour nous contredire; mais nous croyons dans la sincérité de Cœurs exprimer les sentimens de la majorité de la Nation Angloise. Un long système d'imposture a fatigué cette nation, et de folles guerres l'ont épuisée; elle a appris à réfléchir que ces fléaux doivent l'être à des combinaisons que la nature réprouve, qui modifient la Société d'après ses relations factices avec le Gouvernement, et qu'ils ne sont point le résultat de la disposition naturelle des Peuples sous le rapport de leur situation respective. Continuez, Législateurs, de travailler au bonheur des hommes; nous participerons à vos bienfaits; mais la gloire vous en appartiendra toute entière. C'est le prix de votre persévérance; c'est la récompense de la vertu. Les étincelles de Liberté qui s'étoient conservées en Angleterre pendant plusieurs siècles, pareilles aux lueurs de l'Aurore Boréale, ne servoient qu'à rendre visible au reste de l'Europe l'obscurité qui le couvroit. Une lumière plus vive, image de la véritable Aurore, jaillit du sein des Républiques Américaines; mais son éloignement

you have gained the opinion of all the Nations placed near you on the Continent; that a majority of each of those Nations is really your friends, that their apparent enmity is only a temporary consequence of the violence exercised against them by their Governments, and that they only wait to be delivered by your arms from the necessity of fighting against you.

*The situation of Englishmen is less to be deplored.* The hand of oppression has not yet ventured completely to ravish the pen from them, or to attack you openly—from bosoms burning with ardor in your cause, we transmit to you our warmest wishes for the full extent of its progress and success; it is indeed a sacred cause. We pursue it with affection, as the pledge of the happiness of a people whom Nature meant to make our friends, by making them our nearest neighbours; and we rely upon it as the bond of fraternal union with all the branches of the human race, in which union, if our expectations are not vain, our Countrymen will be among the first to concur.

Our Government has still the power, and perhaps the inclination, to employ hireling pens to contradict us, but we believe, in the sincerity of our hearts, that we now *express the sentiments of a majority of the English Nation.* A long system of imposture has wearied this Nation, and foolish wars have exhausted it—it has learnt to reflect, that these scourges owe their being to those combinations which Nature disapproves, which modify society according to factitious relations with Government, and that they are not the result of the natural temper of Nations formed by the connection which arises from their respective positions. Proceed, Legislators, in the work of human happiness; the benefit will, in part, be ours, but the glory will be all your own. It is the price of your perseverance, it is the reward of virtue. *The sparks of Liberty preserved in England for several ages, like the lights of the Aurora Borealis, served only to discover to the rest of Europe the darkness which covered it.* A stronger light, image of the real Aurora, shone forth from the bosom of the American Republic; but its distance prevented it from enlightening your



éloignement l'empêchoit d'éclairer notre hémisphère ; il falloit, si le génie de notre langue nous permet d'achever ce parallèle ; il falloit, disons nous, que, rayonnante de tous les feux du soleil au milieu de son cours, la Revolution Française déployât soudain au milieu du centre de l'Europe le resultat pratique des principes que la philosophie avoit sémés dans l'ombre de la meditation, et que confirme partout l'expérience. Partout son influence dissipe les nuages des préjugés, révèle les secrets du Despotisme de tout genre et crée à l'homme un nouveau caractère d'autres marcheront bientôt sur vos traces dans cette carrière d'utiles changements, et les nations, sortant de leur léthargie, s'armeront pour revendiquer les Droits de l'homme, de cette voix toute puissante à laquelle des hommes ne sauroient résister.

(Signés)

SEMPILL, PRESIDENT.

D. ADAMS, SECRETAIRE.

JOEL BARLOW, { DEPUTES DE  
J. FROST, { LA SOCIÉTÉ.

your hemisphere. It was necessary that the French Revolution, beaming forth in the full fervor of a meridian sun, should suddenly display in the midst of Europe the practical result of the principles which philosophy had sown in the shade of meditation, and which experience every where confirms. On all sides its influence dispels the clouds of prejudice, reveals the secrets of every kind of Despotism, and creates a new character in man.

*Other Nations will soon follow your steps in this career of improvement, and, rising from their lethargy, WILL ARM THEMSELVES FOR THE PURPOSE OF CLAIMING THE RIGHTS OF MAN, with that all-powerful voice which man cannot resist.*

Signed,

SEMPILL, PRESIDENT.

D. ADAMS, SECRETARY.

JOEL BARLOW, } DEPUTIES.  
J. FROST, }

#### *L'Orateur de la Députation.*

Nous sommes chargés aussi de vous informer que la Société que nous représentons, a envoyé 1,000 paires de souliers, pour offrir en don patriotique aux Soldats de la Liberté. (Des applaudissemens unanimes s'élèvent et se prolongent) ces souliers sont déjà arrivés à Calais. Il en sera envoyé plus de 1,000 paires par semaine, au moins six semaines de suite. (Même applaudissemens).

#### *Le Président aux Députés.*

Fiers Enfants d'une Nation qui a illustré les deux mondes, et donné de grands exemples à l'Univers; vous nous apportez plus que de vœux, puisque le sort de nos guerriers a mérité votre sollicitude. Les Défenseurs de notre Liberté le seront un jour de la vôtre; vous aviez des droits à notre estime, vous en avez à notre reconnaissance, et les hommes libres n'oubli-

The Address and the Speech of these respectable Cosmopolitans were received with long and numerous applauses; nothing can equal the sentiments inspired by that delightful moment, unless, perhaps, the expressions of fraternity lavished on the Deputies from the Allebrogues.

#### *The President's Answer.*

Spirited Children of a Nation which has been celebrated through the two hemispheres, and which has afforded illustrious examples to the Universe, you offer us more than your wishes, since the fate of our Warriors has been thought deserving of your anxiety.— Those who now defend our Liberty will one day become the defenders of yours. You were already



n'oublieront jamais ce qu'ils doivent à la nation Angloise.

Les Ombres de PENN, de HAMPDEN, et de SYDNEY, planent sur vos têtes; et sans doute il approche le moment où les François iront féliciter la Convention Nationale de la Grande Bretagne. Long tems la discorde agita ses flambeaux entre l'Angleterre et la France, l'Ambition des Rois fomentant de strames Nationales, vouloit faire oublier que la nature ne produit que des freres. Vos îles furent autrefois, dit-on, arrachées au Continent par un mouvement convulsif du Globe; mais la Liberté et l'Amitié se replaçant sur les deux rives d'un détroit qui nous sépare donnent la main à deux Nations faites pour s'estimer et se chérir. Votre apparition au milieu de nous prépare des matériaux à l'Histoire; elle mentionnera le jour où les Citoyens d'une nation long tems rivale, au nom d'une foule de leurs compatriotes, parurent au Sein de l'Assemblée des Représentans du Peuple François; elle racontera qu'à votre aspect nos cœurs se dilatèrent (nombreux applaudissemens) dites à la Société qui vous a Députés; dites à vos Compatriotes que dans vos amis les François vous avez trouvé des hommes.

Les deux Députés vont se placer dans la salle, au milieu des applaudissemens réitérés.

On demande l'impression des deux Adresses et des Réponses du Président.

already entitled to our esteem, you are now entitled to our gratitude; and Freemen will never forget what they owe to the English Nation.

*The shades of PENN, of HAMPDEN, and of SYDNEY, hover over your heads, AND THE MOMENT WITHOUT DOUBT APPROACHES, IN WHICH THE FRENCH WILL BRING CONGRATULATIONS TO THE NATIONAL CONVENTION OF GREAT BRITAIN.*

Discord has long shaken her torch between England and France; the ambition of Kings, encouraging plots between Nations, was desirous of having it forgotten that Nature produced only brethren. Your Islands, it is said, were formerly torn from the Continent by a convulsion of the earth, but Liberty and Friendship again placing themselves upon the two banks of the Channel which separates us, mutually join hands between two Nations formed to esteem and cherish each other.

Generous REPUBLICANS, your appearance among us prepares a subject for History. That day will be noticed, in which Citizens belonging to a Nation long the rival of France, appeared in the midst of the Assembly of Representatives of the French People, in the name of a crowd of their fellow-countrymen. It will be related, that on your appearance our hearts expanded themselves—tell the Society by whom you are deputed, tell your Fellow-countrymen, that in your friends the French, you have met with Men.

The Deputies from the Constitutional Society were admitted to the Sitting, amidst the greatest applauses.

The President of the National Convention was directed to write a Letter of Thanks to those generous Islanders, for the patriotic gift which they had just offered to the Armies of the Republic.

*The Speech, the Address, and the Answer of the President, were ordered to be printed and sent to the 83 Departments, and TO BE TRANSLATED INTO ALL LANGUAGES.*

*Minutes of the Proceedings to be delivered to the Deputies, and the Patriotic Gift to be accepted, and transmitted to the Minister at War,*

Deputation

Deputation



*Députation des Anglois et Irlandois à Paris à la Con-  
vention Nationale,*

*Admise dans la Séance du 28ieme Nov. 1792.*

*Convention Nationale, Séance du 28ieme Novembre,  
1792.*

UNE Députation, composée d'un grand nombre d'Anglois paroît à la barre. Elle est accueillie par les Applaudissemens unanimes et prolongés de l'Assemblée et des Spectateurs.

L'Orateur de la Députation,

Citoyens Législateurs, les Citoyens Britanniques et Irlandois, actuellement à Paris, animés constamment des Principes qui ont fait naître et triompher la Révolution Française, se sont réunis Dimanche pour célébrer le Succès des vos Armes, et ont arrêté de venir vous présenter leurs sentimens de felicitation sur des événemens qui sont d'un si favorable Augure pour les Peuples qui voudront devenir libres. Recevez donc cet hommage pur et fraternel des hommes qui portent dans leur cœur, tous les principes de la Constitution, que vous allez donner à votre patrie. Jusqu'ici les Guerres n'avoient été entreprises que pour satisfaire l'ambition ou l'orgueil des despotes. Vous n'avez pris les armes que pour faire triompher la raison et la Liberté. Nous espérons que les troupes de la Liberté ne les poseront que lorsqu'il n'y aura plus de Tyrans ni d'esclaves. [On applaudit à plusieurs reprises].

De tous ces prétendus Gouvernemens ouvrages de la fraude des prêtres et des tyrans coalisés, il ne restera bientôt qu'un honteux souvenir. Les Peuples, éclairés par votre exemple, rougiront d'avoir courbé si long tems des têtes serviles sous un joug avilissant pour la nature humaine.

Nos vœux, Citoyens Législateurs, nous rendent impatiens de voir le moment heureux de ce grand changement, dans l'espoir qu'il ne sera pas plutôt arrivé, que nous verrons se former une union étroite entre la République Française et les nations Angloise, Ecossaise et Irlandoise; union qui ne pourroit manquer d'assurer à l'Europe entière la jouissance des droits de l'homme, et d'établir sur les bases les plus solides la paix universelle.

Nous

*Deputation from English and Irish at Paris to the  
National Convention, admitted in the Sitting of  
the 28th November, 1792.*

*National Convention. Sitting of 28th November,  
1792.*

A Deputation composed of a great number of English, appeared at the Bar. It was received with the unanimous and lengthened plaudits of the Assembly, and of the Spectators.

One of the Deputation spoke as follows:

Citizen Legislators, the British and Irish Citizens, actually at Paris, constantly animated by those principles which have given birth and success to the French Revolution, assembled themselves last Sunday, for the purpose of celebrating the Success of your Arms; and they have determined to present to you their Congratulations upon events which afford so favourable an omen to those Nations who are desirous of becoming free.—Accept then this pure and fraternal homage on the part of Men who bear in their hearts all the principles of that Constitution which you are about to give to your Country.—Hitherto Wars had been undertaken only for the satisfying of the ambition; or of the pride of Despots; but you have taken up Arms to make Reason and Liberty triumph. We hope that the Troops of Liberty will not lay them down while either Tyrants or Slaves remain. (Repeated applauses).

The disgraceful Memory of those pretended Governments, the offspring of the combined fraud of Priests and Tyrants, will, in a short time, alone remain. Nations enlightened by your example, blush at having bowed for so long a period their servile heads under a yoke degrading to human nature. Our wishes, Citizen Legislators, render us impatient to behold the happy moment of this great change, in the hope that on its arrival we shall see an intimate union formed between the French Republic and the English, Irish, and Scotch Nations: an union which cannot but secure to all Europe the enjoyment of the Rights of Man, and establish universal peace on the most solid foundations. Nor are we alone animated by these sentiments: we doubt not that they would



Nous ne sommes pas les seuls animés de ces sentimens, nous ne doutons pas qu'ils ne se manifestassent également chez la grande majorité de nos Compatriotes, si l'opinion publique y étoit consultée, comme elle devoit l'être, dans une Convention Nationale.

Quant à nous qui faisons dans ce moment notre résidence à Paris, nous saisissons avec joye cette occasion, pour déclarer que dans tout le cours de la Révolution, et nonobstant le brusque départ de notre Ambassadeur, ouplutôt de l'Ambassadeur de la Cour de Londres, nous avons constamment éprouvé de la part de la Nation Française les sentimens de la cordialité la plus franche et de l'amitié la plus sincere.

*Le Président à la Députation.*

Citoyens du Monde ! exprimant à la République Française, dans la personne de ses Représentans vos sentimens de fraternité, vous félicitez une famille qui s'accrût hier de quatre cent mille individus que la nature avoit placés dans son Sein, que le Despotisme en avoit arrachés, et que la Liberté y a replacés, ce sont autant d'amis de plus qui vous sont acquis. Oui, vous êtes ici au milieu de vos frères ; la nature et les principes rapprochent de nous l'Angleterre, l'Ecosse, et l'Irlande. Que le cris de l'amitié rétentissent dans les deux Républiques ; les vœux que vous venez deformer pour la Liberté des Peuples se réaliseront. La race impie des oppresseurs à poursuivi la Liberté de l'homme jusque dans l'asile de la pensée ; mais le Peuple relève son front humilié, il calcule ce qu'il est, et ce qu'il peut être. Les principes font la guerre à la tyrannie qui tombera sous les coups de la philosophie. La royauté est en Europe ou détruite ou agonisante sur les Décombres féodaux ; et la déclaration des droits, placée à côté des trônes, est un feu révorant qui va les consumer. [Applaudissemens.] Estimables Republicans, félicitez vous, enpensant que la fête que vous avez célébrée en l'honneur de la Révolution Française, est le prélude de la fête des nations.

La Convention vous offre les Honneurs de la Séance.

La Députation traverse la salle au milieu des applaudissemens.

*Extrait*

would be equally conspicuous in the great majority of our fellow-countrymen, if the public opinion were to be consulted there, as it ought in a National Convention.

As for us, who now reside at Paris, we gladly take this opportunity to declare, that, during the whole course of the Revolution, and notwithstanding the abrupt departure of our Ambassador, or rather the Ambassador of the Court of London, we have constantly experienced the utmost cordiality and openness, and the most sincere friendship on the part of the French Nation.

*Answer of the President to the Deputation.*

Citizens of the World ! in expressing to the French Republic, through the medium of its Representatives, your sentiments of fraternity, you congratulate a family which was yesterday augmented by the addition of 400,000 individuals whom Nature had placed in its bosom, whom Despotism had torn from it, but whom Liberty has again placed there. You have gained so many more friends. Yes, you are here in the middle of your brethren ; Nature and Principles draw towards us England, Scotland, and Ireland. Let the cries of friendship resound through the two Republics—the wishes you have now formed for the Liberty of Nations, will be realized. The impious race of Oppressors has pursued the Liberty of Man even into the Asylum of Thought. But the People lifts up its humiliated front, it determines its own weight, and what it may become. Principles are waging War against Tyranny, which will fall under the blows of Philosophy. *Royalty in Europe is either destroyed, or on the point of perishing on the ruins of Feodality—and the Declaration of Rights placed by the side of Thrones, is a devouring fire which will consume them.* [Applauses.] *Worthy Republicans, congratulate yourselves on thinking that the Festival which you have made in honour of the French Revolution, is the prelude to the Festival of Nations.*

The Convention offers you the Honours of the Sitting.

The Deputation crosses the Hall in the midst of Applauses.

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*Extrait d'une Lettre du Ministre des Affaires Etrangères, lue dans la Convention, le 29ième Nov. 1792.*

IL m'est deux d'ajouter que ce Dévouement à la cause de la République Française devient general parmi le Peuple Anglois.

Les Adresses que j'ai été chargé de faire passer à la Convention Nationale, en sont une preuve frappante, heir encore, j'ai reçu d'une Société qui consacre son tems à établir l'Empire de la Liberté et de l'Egalité, et qui place- roit son bonheur à pouvoir contribuer à l'Union de deux Peuples trop long tems ene- mies, une Resolution prise dans la Séance du 20 de ce Mois, dont voici la traduction,

La Société ayant été informé que Mr. LYND- SAY est dépêché à Paris, sans aucun Caractère Diplomatic qui annonce que le Ministre An- glois, reconnoit la République Française.

Résolu unanimement que cette Société de- voue au mepris, à la haine, et à l'indignation des vrais Amis de la Liberté, les Agens d'une Ad- ministration corrompue, qui ont l'audace d'en- voyer aux Ministres d'un Peuple libre, un cer- tain LYNDsAY, avec un Message menaçant, in- sultant, dans la vue d'obtenir des conditions qui déshonoroient la Majesté du Peuple Fran- çois, et à lui faire abandonner la cause des Peu- ples qui aspirent à recevoir de lui le Bienfait de la Liberté.

Résolu que le Président de la Société invi- tera tous les Amis de l'Egalité toutes les So- ciétés correspondantes en France, à employer leur zèle, leurs efforts, leurs sollicitations auprès du Conseil Executif, Même le Ministre Citoyen ayant le Département des Affaires Etrangères, à ne recevoir, ni reconnoitre, le Mèssager inso- lent, LYNDsAY, à refuser toute Communication avec le Cabinet Britannique jusqu'à ce qu'il ait reconnu la Souveraineté du Peuple François, et chassé de la cour l'infame CALONNE bou- te- feu instigateur odieux, intrigant ami du des- potisme, et Agent malévolé d'un parti infame.

Ré-

*An Extract from a Letter from the Minister for Foreign Affairs, read in the Convention Nov. 29, 1792.*

IT is pleasant to me to add, that this devotion to the cause of the French Republic becomes general among the English People. The Ad- dresses which I have been directed to transmit to the National Convention, are a striking proof of it. Even yesterday I received (from a So- ciety that consecrates its time to the establish- ing the Empire of Liberty and Equality, and would place its happiness in being able to con- tribute to the Union of two Nations which have been too long Enemies), a Resolution taken in its Sitting of the 20th of this month, of which the following is the Translation :

" The Society having been informed, that Mr. LYNDsAY is dispatched to Paris, without any Diplomatic Character, which announces that the English Ministry acknowledges the French Republic ;

" Resolved unanimously, That this Society devotes to the contempt, the hatred, and the indignation of the true Friends of Liberty, the Agents of a corrupt Administration who have the audacity to depute to the Ministers of a Free People, a person named LYNDsAY, with a threatening, insulting message, with the view of obtaining conditions which would dishonour the Majesty of the French People, and make it abandon the cause of those People who are ambitious of receiving from it the gift of Liberty.

" Resolved, That the President of the Society do invite all the Friends of Equality, all the Corresponding Societies in France, to employ their zeal, their efforts, their sollicitations, with the Executive Council, and in particular with the Citizen Minister for Foreign Affairs, that they will not receive or acknowledge the inso- lent Messenger LYNDsAY, and that they will re- fuse all communication with the British Ca- binet, until it has acknowledged the Sove- reignty of the French People, and driven from the Court the infamous CALONNE, that fire- brand, and odious instigator, that intriguing Friend of Despotism, and malevolent Agent of an infamous Party,

" Resolved



Résolu aussi que la Société continuera ses Séances deux fois par Semaine, et que les remerciemens seront faits au Citoyen de la CHESNAYE, pour son zèle indefatigable à nous procurer des lumières, et objets d'instruction.

Cet Arrêté a été pris par la Société établie à Rochester pour la propagation des droits de l'homme.

(Signé)

LE BRUN.

"Resolved also, That the Society shall continue its Sitzings twice a week, and that Thanks shall be given to the Citizen de la CHESNAYE, for his indefatigable zeal in procuring us light, intelligence, and subjects of information."

This Decree has been made by the Society established at Rochester for the propagation of the Rights of Man.

(Signed)

LE BRUN,

*Decree of the Executive Council of France, for the Free Navigation of the Scheldt and Meuse, November 16, 1792.*

*From the Moniteur of the 22d Nov. 1792.*

*Extract of the Registers of the Deliberations of the Provisionary Executive Council of the 16th Nov. 1792.*

THE Executive Council deliberating on the conduct of the French Armies in the Countries which they occupy, especially in *Belgia*, one of its Members observed,

1st, That the chains and trammels which fill now Navigation and Commerce have suffered, as well upon the *Scheldt* as upon the *Meuse*, are directly contrary to the Fundamental Principles of Natural Law, which the French have sworn to maintain.

2dly, That the course of Rivers is the common and unalienable property of all the Countries watered by their Banks; that a Nation cannot without injustice, pretend to the right of occupying the Channel of a River, and to prevent the neighbouring Nations, who inhabit the upper Banks, from enjoying the same advantage; that such a right is a remnant of feudal servitude, or at least an odious monopoly, which could only be established by force, and consented to by weakness; that consequently it is revocable every moment, and in spite of all Conventions, because Nature knows as little of privileged people as of privileged individuals, and the Rights of Man are always imprescriptible.

3dly, That the glory of the French Republic requires, that wherever the protection of her Arms extends, Liberty should be established, and Tyranny overthrown.

4thly, That when to the advantages procured to the Belgian People by the French Arms, shall be joined the free Navigation of Rivers, and the Freedom of the Commerce of these Provinces, not only the People will have no farther ground of their own independence, or to doubt of the disinterestedness which directs the Republic, but even the Nations of Europe cannot then refuse to acknowledge, that the destruction of all Tyrannies, and the triumph of the Rights of Man, are the sole ambition of the French People.

The Council, struck with these powerful considerations, decrees, that the General in Chief commanding the French Armies in the Expedition of *Belgia*, shall be enjoined to take the most precise measures, and to employ every method which is in his power, to ensure the liberty of Navigation and Transports in the whole course of the *Scheldt* and the *Meuse*.

The reading of this Resolution was interrupted by numerous plaudits.

*Extract*



*Extract from the Treaty of Munster, between Spain and Holland, signed 30th January, 1648.*

ARTICLE XIV.

THE Rivers of the Escaut, as also the Canals of Sas, Zwyn, and other mouths of Rivers dis-emboguing themselves there, shall be kept shut on the side of the Lords the States.

The above Treaty was confirmed by the Treaty of Westminster, between England and Holland, February 9-19, 1674. Art. 7.

Ditto between ditto, March 3, 1677-8, Art. 2. (generally.)

Windsor, between ditto,	-	-	-	-	August 17, 1685.
Whitehall, ditto,	-	-	-	-	August 16, 1689.
Utrecht, ditto,	-	-	-	-	Jan. 29, 1713.
Hague, ditto,	-	-	-	-	Jan. 4, 1717.
Aix-la-Chapelle, between England, France and Holland,	-	-	-	-	Oct. 18, 1748. Art. 3.
Paris, between Great Britain, France and Spain,	-	-	-	-	Feb. 10, 1763.
Versailles, between Great Britain and France,	-	-	-	-	Sept. 3, 1783.

*Copy of the 2d, 7th, and 28th Articles of the Definitive Treaty between the Emperor and the States General. Signed at Fontainebleau, 8th November, 1785.*

ARTICLE II. Le Traité conclu à Munster le 30 Janvier, 1648, sert de base au présent Traité; et toutes les stipulations du dit Traité de Munster seront conservées, en tant qu'il n'y aura pas été dérogé par le présent.

ART. VII. Leurs Hautes Puissances reconnoissent le plein droit de Souveraineté absolue et indépendante de Sa Majesté Imperiale sur toute la partie de l'Escaut de puis Anvers jusqu'au Bout du Pays de Saffingen, conformément à la ligne Jaune S. T. la quelle retombe en T. sur la limite du Brabant, suivant que l'indique la Carte signée par les Ambassadeurs respectifs.

Les Etats Generaux renoncent en conséquence à la perception et Levée d'aucun Péage et Impôt dans cette partie de l'Escaut, à quelque titre et sous quelle forme que cela puisse être; de même à y jener en aucune manière la Navigation et le Commerce des Sujets de Sa Majesté Imperiale. Le reste du Fleuve depuis la Ligne démarquée Jusqu'à la Mer, dont

ARTICLE II. The Treaty concluded at Munster on the 30th of January, 1648, serves as the basis of the present Treaty; and all the stipulations of the said Treaty of Munster shall be preserved, so far as they shall not be set aside by the present Treaty.

ART. VII. Their High Mightinesses acknowledge the full right of absolute and independent Sovereignty in His Imperial Majesty, over every part of the Scheldt from Antwerp to the extremity of the Country of Saffingen, agreeably to the Yellow Line S. T. which falls on T. upon the boundary of Brabant, as marked in the Map signed by the respective Ambassadors.

The States General of course renounce all right of Toll and Duty on this part of the Scheldt, under whatsoever title or form they may be, as well as hindering, in any degree, the Navigation and Commerce of the Subjects of His Imperial Majesty. The rest of the River, from the Line marked out to the Sea, the sovereignty shall remain in the States General, and shall



la souveraineté continuera d'appartenir aux Etats-Generaux, sera tenu clos de leur côté, ainsi que les Canoux du Sar du Swin, et autres bouches de mer y aboutissans conformément au Traité de Munster.

ART. XXVIII. Sa Majesté le Roi Tres Chrétien, ayant contribué à la réussite de l'arrangement convenu entre les hautes Parties Contractantes par son intervention amicale et sa médiation efficace et équitable, sa dite Majesté est requise par les hautes Parties Contractantes de se charger aussi de la garantie du présent Traité.

shall be kept shut by them, as also the Canals of Saes, Zwyn, and other adjoining mouths of the sea, agreeable to the Treaty of Munster.

ART. XXVIII. His Most Christian Majesty having contributed to the completion of the arrangement made between the High Contracting Parties by his friendly intervention, and his effectual and just mediation, his said Majesty is requested by the High Contracting Parties to charge himself likewise with being Guarantee of the present Treaty.

*Treaty of Defensive Alliance between His Majesty the King of Great Britain and their High Mightinesses the States General of the United Provinces. Signed at the Hague the 15th of April, 1788.*

ART. II. Dans le cas où une de deux hautes Parties Contractantes seroit hostilement attaquée par quelque Puissance Européenne, dans quelque Partie du Monde que ce puisse être, l'autre Partie Contractante s'engage de secourir son Allié, tant par mer que par terre, pour se maintenir et se garantir mutuellement dans la possession de tous les Etat, Domaines, Villes, Places, Franchises et Libertés, que leur appartenoient respectivement avant le commencement des hostilités.

ART. IV. Les secours mentionnés dans l'Article 2, de ce Traité d'Alliance défensive, consisteront, de la part de Sa Majesté Britannique, en huit mille hommes d'infanterie, deux mille de cavalerie, douze vaisseau de ligne, et huit frégates; et de la part des Etats Généraux, en cinq mille hommes d'infanterie, mille de cavalerie, huit vaisseaux de ligne, et huit frégates; lesquels secours respectifs seront fournis dans l'espace de deux mois après la requisition faite par la partie attaquée, et demeureront à sa disposition pendant toute la durée de la Guerre dans laquelle elle se trouvera engagée, tandis que ces secours (soit en vaisseau et frégates, soit en troupes) seront payés et entretenus par la puissance requise, par tout où son Allié les fera agir.

ART.

ART. II. In case either of the High Contracting Parties should be hostilely attacked by any European Power, in any part of the World whatsoever, the other Contracting Party engages to succour its Ally, as well by Sea as by Land, in order to maintain and guarantee each other mutually in the possession of all the Dominions, Territories, Towns, Places, Franchises and Liberties which belonged to them respectively before the commencement of hostilities.

ART. IV. The succours mentioned in the Second Article of this Treaty of Defensive Alliance, shall consist, on the part of His Britannic Majesty, of eight thousand infantry, two thousand cavalry, twelve ships of the line, and eight frigates; and on the part of the States General, of five thousand infantry, one thousand cavalry, eight ships of the line, and eight frigates; which respective succours shall be furnished in the space of two months after requisition made by the party attacked, and shall remain at its disposal during the whole continuance of the War in which it shall be engaged, whilst those succours (whether ships and frigates, or troops) shall be paid and maintained by the power of whom they shall be required, where ever its Ally shall employ them.

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ART. V. Dans le Cas où les Secours stipulés ne seroient pas suffisans pour la Defense de la Puissance requerante, la Puissance requise les augmentera successivement, selon les besoins de son Allié; Elle l'assistera même de toutes ses Forces, si les circonstances l'exigent; mais il est convenu expressement, dans tous les cas, que le contingent des Seigneurs Etats Généraux n'excedera pas l'évaluation de Dix Mille Hommes d'infanterie, Deux Mille de cavalerie, seize vaisseaux de ligne, et seize frégates.

ART. VIII. Si les Hautes Parties Contractantes préfèrent de fournir leurs secours de troupes en argent, il fera libre de part et d'autre de la faire; et alors ce secours sera évalué à cent mille florins, courant de Hollande, par an, pour mille hommes d'infanterie, et à cent-vingt mille florins, même valeur, pour mille hommes de cavalerie, par an, ou dans la même proportion par mois.

ART. V. In case the stipulated succours should not be sufficient for the defence of the Power requiring them, the Power to whom requisition shall be made shall successively augment them, according to the wants of its Ally, whom it shall assist, even with its whole force, if circumstances should render it necessary; but it is expressly agreed, in all cases, that the contingent of the Lords the States General shall not exceed ten thousand infantry, two thousand cavalry, sixteen ships of the line, and sixteen frigates.

ART. VIII. If the High Contracting Parties prefer furnishing their succours of troops in money, they shall be at liberty on each side so to do; and then such succour shall be computed at one hundred thousand florins, Dutch currency, per annum, for one thousand infantry, and at one hundred and twenty thousand florins, of the like value, for one thousand cavalry, per annum, and in the same proportion by the month.

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*Speech of M. Cambon on the State of the Finances, delivered in the National Convention on the 13th of November, 1792.*

IT will be perhaps necessary to enter into some details on the opinion of JACOB DUPONT. He was constantly employed in the business of Contributions during the course of the Legislative Assembly. We were both Members of the Committee of Finances, and I agreed with him in opinion on this subject. I must observe, that the Assembly will never provide for extraordinary necessities by Taxes. They amounted to 198 millions of livres (8,250,000l. sterling) last month, and 138 millions of livres (5,750,000l. sterling) for this. Now, if we impose 138 millions of livres (5,750,000l. sterling) that will make a capital of 1500 millions of livres, (62,500,000l. sterl.) In the time of despotism, it never entered into the idea of Tyrants to make War with the existing Taxes alone—they borrowed. Here we are incurring great expence, to carry on a War which is to give Liberty to Europe, and ensure the happiness of future generations.

In the statement of 1793, you will distinguish the ordinary expences, for which you may provide by Taxes; and the extraordinary expences, for which you will provide by alienating capitals.

To return to the opinion of the last Speaker, we ought to regret that the establishment of Taxes has not produced what the Constituent Assembly expected. We have to regret, that the Tax upon Patents has not been perceived; and still more to regret, that it has been imposed, because it



it fell upon the People. We have to regret, that the Tax upon Personal Property, so fine for those who understand Algebra, but so difficult for the Municipal Officers, who scarce know how to read, has also been established. We ought therefore to take care, that the expences should be as light as possible, and to retrench whatever is not for the public service.

Your Committee of Finance, which does not lose a moment, which meets every day, has turned an attentive eye to the article of Expence. It has resolved yesterday evening, to propose to you the suppression of the Tax on personal property, the Tax on patents, and the diminution of 40 millions of livres (166,666l. sterling) on the Land Tax. Your Committee was well aware, that this news would be received with enthusiasm, but at the same time it ought to be economical, and in suppressing receipt, it ought also to suppress a part of expence. We have calculated the suppression of these imposts—I may call them immoral. We must tell the People, there is an enormous expence; no body would believe it; one which costs 100 millions of livres (4,166,666l. sterling) to the Republic.

Being occupied with the state of the Taxes of 1793, we ought to propose this question—“Whether the religious ought not to pay the expence of religion?” This expence for 1793, which would cost 100 millions of livres, (4,166,666l. sterling) cannot be passed over in silence, because the National Treasury cannot pay it. Can your Committee, under such circumstances, have the impudence to demand the blood of the people for functions which are not public? Your Committee has considered this question under every point of view. It has asked what the Convention was. They are Mandataries who stipulate for the Society, what the whole Society cannot stipulate for itself. They ought not to fix allowances to Clergy, since every one may directly contribute his quota. Then it is said, let us make the application of true principles, which require that he who works shall be paid for his labour, but paid by those who employ him. If this question had been presented abstractedly to the Convention, they would say, These Financiers only wish to suppress; but when we shall say to the People, we diminish to you 124 millions of livres, (5,166,666l. sterling); and you labourers, who pay 100 livres (4l. sterling) for the Tax on Personal Property; you Inn-keepers, who pay 300 livres (12l. 10s. sterling); or 500 livres (16l. 15s. sterling) for Patents; if you confide in this Ecclesiastic, who has served the Revolution well, you will be no longer subject to an Electoral Body. Instead of giving to him 12 or 1400 livres (49l. 5s. or 62l. 10s. sterling), you will give to him 3 or 4000 livres (125l. or 166l. 7s. sterling.)

Thus, Citizens, instead of 300 millions of livres (12,500,000l. sterling) you will have only 200 millions of livres (8,333,333l. sterling) to impose. So many coercive measures will not be necessary; before eight days the report will be ready—a report required and expected by all Priests and all Frenchmen. But in the mean time provision must be made for the wants of the National Treasury. Instead of 198 millions of livres (8,250,000l. sterling) of expence in the last month, you will have in this but 138 millions of livres (5,750,000l. sterling.) You have received but 28 millions of livres (1,166,666l. sterling.) A payment of 110 millions of livres (4,833,333l. sterling) is therefore necessary. I demand that you will decree this ordinary payment, and that you will hear your Committee of Finance when their labours shall be completed.



Translation from the Leyden Gazette of 20th November, 1792.

IN the Gazette of *Deux Ponts* of the 18th inst. is the following Article:—"We are authorised by the Minister Plenipotentiary of the French Republic at the Palatine Court of *Deux Ponts*, to announce, that the Contribution levied on the Town of *Frankfort* is about to be restored to it in toto. The brave CUSTINE, who is enchanted with this restitution, as well as all the Ministers of the French Nation in Germany, have orders to make it publicly known, that the National Troops only march to punish the Enemies of France, not to lay the purse of Citizens under Contribution: And their Friends will ever see, that their justice is equal to the delicacy and loyalty of the principles which direct them."

Upon this it must be observed, that General CUSTINE had at first demanded 2,000,000 florins from *Frankfort*: he afterwards reduced the sum to 1,500,000:—he again raised it to 2,000,000, offering to take the fine Artillery of the Town as 500,000 florins. One million had been paid: Security had been given for the other, till an answer could be obtained by the two Deputies of *Frankfort*, sent to make representations to the National Convention. The fine Artillery of *Frankfort*, so much coveted, was not given up. The inferior classes of Citizens rejected the proffered bounty of the French General, who had ordered, that the Contribution should only be levied on such of the inhabitants as were worth 30,000 florins: and as Freedom ought to be no less the right of Citizens of ancient *Franconia* than of the modern *Franks*, the former have freely expressed their ideas on the subject in the following Address:

"My General, in the Manifestoes which you have published, you have addressed yourself to us, and have therein but too well shewn, that you have the best intentions in the world with respect to the lowest Class of Citizens." We therefore place a perfect confidence in you. Permit us then, in our turn, to speak as openly for once, and declare to you our real sentiments.

You wish to protect us against oppression, which, God be praised! the Citizens of *Frankfort* never heard of, much less ever experienced. You wish to procure us that Liberty which we enjoy already; so, my General, if you think we have been hitherto oppressed, exposed to exactions or any evil treatment, it must have been the enemies of our welfare who wished to deceive you. Our Regents are also our Fellow-Citizens. Magistracy itself is chosen from amongst our fellow-workmen, and it forms a third of our whole Council. It is Citizens who are employed in the Administration of the Public Purse, and the Accounts are given in, from time to time, to the whole Body of Burghers. The Public Charges are supported not less by the persons of the Magistracy than by ourselves: they have no other Prerogatives than merely the respect necessary for the exercise of their functions of Public Authority. Amongst us, the rich have never formed a distinct class: their easy circumstances benefit every rank, and their flourishing commerce renders us all happy. He who can and will work, finds a subsistence in every profession; the proof of which is the great number of monied men amongst us. No Country is without its poor: but amongst the numerous private establishments (which owe their existence to the liberality and riches of our Ancestors, as the support of our common welfare), our poor find such assistance, that this little State surpasses in this respect many others far more extensive and flourishing.—The charity bestowed by the rich, daily, on the indigent, though done in secret, is publicly known; but we shall be silent on the subject, because they want no acknowledgment. Our Taxes are very trifling; no one can complain of them. In short, we are all happy and content. Our general prosperity is too intimately connected with the happy Constitution, and with the welfare of our rich Citizens, for us not to interest ourselves in their favour. Thus, when my General exacts



exacts such considerable sums from our richest Citizens, we, the middling Class, and poor Burghers, we also are punished, inasmuch as Commerce and Manufactures must necessarily suffer from it: the more that is taken from them, the less we shall gain of them; so we shall all be the losers.

Thus, then, *my General*, since you set yourself up as a *Defender of Liberty*, and as a *Protector of the Public Welfare*, you would be acting against your own principles, not to leave us as we are, and desist from those Contributions which we have as little right to pay you as our richer Citizens, and which must tend to the ruin of our State, hitherto so happy. Moreover, we know not how to manifest more sincerely our zeal for the welfare of the French Republic, than by our ardent wish—that *she may ever find herself as happy in her Constitution as we are in ours*. Indeed, we expect from you, *my General*, to leave us in the quiet enjoyment of our Constitution, which we have hitherto regarded as an invaluable blessing, as well as the advantages which are attached to it; and thereby preserve your own glory, our highest gratitude, and universal praise; the brightest Jewel in the Civic Crown, because it never tarnishes.

(Signed)

THE BURGHERS OF FRANKFORT.

Frankfort, Nov. 5, 1792.

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*Answer of the Minister of the Interior, to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, relative to the Appeal of the Town of Frankfort upon the Maine, the 18th of November, 1792, the first Year of the French Republic.*

THE Petition of the Town of Frankfort, which you have had the attention to address to me, my dear Colleague, was by no means necessary to fix my opinion upon the Appeal which her Deputies have made to the National Convention—I have manifested that opinion clearly, you know; and I am well pleased in thinking that the principles which serve for its basis, may equally determine the decision of the Assembly on so important a question. What has the French Nation so solemnly declared? That she renounced all Conquests; that she would respect the rights and properties of every People; that she would only fight against her Enemies and Tyrants. After the restoration of the Rights of Man, what declaration more majestic, more imposing, or more worthy of admiration, could proceed from French Legislators? And could they violate it, or even render it suspicious to the eyes of the whole earth, so attentive to our motions, and to our most trifling deliberations? No, I cannot suppose it. The consciousness of our strength ought not to make us forget our sentiments of glory; I say more—of justice. What is the Town of Frankfort?—a Free State, but dependant by her position, by her political connections, and by her own weakness. As an individual part of the Germanic Body, she could not resist the voice of the majority of the Diet, which obliged her to contribute her contingent for the War; and if this act, the most serious with which she can be reproached, can neither be imputed to hostile dispositions, nor to sentiments injurious to our Revolution; of what weight can appear to the eyes of a great Nation, the pitiful and captious accusations raised against that Republic for pretended ill offices towards us?

It is said, she has afforded an asylum to the Emigrants; that she has suffered them to raise Recruits; that she has furnished the Princes with money; that she has permitted an Aristocratical



Gazette within her walls; that she has discredited our Assignats. To all which imputations are opposed, her reiterated prohibitions against recruiting; her prosecutions of the recruiters; her refusal to sell Artillery to the French Princes, or to lend them 200,000 florins on some diamonds; her resistance to the requisition of the Grand Bailiwick of Ettenheim, to publish an Ordonnance against the Mayor and Town Clerk of Strasbourg, out of her respect for an authority constituted and lawfully established by the French Constitution: Her having seized Pamphlets in favour of a Counter-revolution, and of which, the liberty of the Fair seemed to authorize the sale; and would have been a most plausible pretext for Magistrates less animated with the desire of removing every thing which might wound the French Nation; every thing which did not correspond with the System of Neutrality she had adopted.

But, add the Representatives of Frankfort, if some individuals have, by their commercial or criminal speculations, been the abettors of these wrongs, ought a whole City to be accused and punished for it, which, although obliged to keep on good terms with the Despots of the Empire and of Prussia, has nevertheless ever shewn the most unequivocal disposition to maintain the most perfect Neutrality: a Neutrality in which she intended to persist, whatever might be the resolution of the Diet respecting the War of the Empire; and who has merited, by her friendly conduct towards France, the thanks of the National Assembly.

Passing from these reproaches (of which the People of Frankfort exculpate themselves in so peremptory a manner), to the examination of the conduct held by them on the approach of our Armies; it seems to me, that it ought to have totally effaced the unfavourable impressions which circumstances, ill understood, might have raised against them. They came out of their Town, and presented us, fraternally, the symbol of Peace and Friendship, and every hospital assistance.—No warlike preparation announced on their part, either the design to resist us, or to protect our Enemies:—they were in that state of neutrality which *becomes* a Free Town, who may be occupied or influenced by, but who will not herself use any influence respecting those political discussions in which her sentiments do not induce her to participate. Let us then compare this conduct of the Town of Frankfort with that of the different Towns which our Armies have occupied or conquered, and let us see, if amongst them, Frankfort is not the most worthy our regard.—Geneva, for instance, who, without being attacked or menaced, in spite of our ties of friendship, and our reiterated assurances to respect them and her Independence, thinks proper to assume the insulting attitude of Defence; introduces Foreign Troops within her Walls, and perfidiously demands the assistance of the Cantons, with whom she compromises our connection and our dignity. She is negociated and treated with—We forget that she has been unmindful of our good faith; that she has provoked our indignation—have we put her under Military Contribution?—No. Have her Deputies hastened to the bosom of the National Convention, fully confident of its Justice and its Wisdom?—No: they have remained within their Walls at the head of a Faction which cherishes our Enemies; they have favoured and protected the flight of a General suspected, attainted by a Decree of Accusation: We will show ourselves magnanimous—we have openly sworn it: let us begin then by being equitable; let us conquer hearts by love, by our virtues, by the sublimity of our principles. Let us only punish our Enemies by enlightening them, by inspiring them with sentiments of Independence, of Liberty and of Equality. Let us engrave upon the Porticos of the Temple of our Laws, these Maxims of Thomas Paine, so worthy of our Revolution—“Let us commence our new Era by displaying grandeur and generosity; let us think only on maintaining Union, and on gaining hearts in order to ensure our success.”

Such, my dear Colleague, are the reflections which the perusal of the Paper you have communicated to me, have caused me to express, even in spite of myself. You will infer from them this natural consequence, that the justice and dignity of the Nation require, that the People of Frankfort should be treated as friends, and released from the Contribution imposed upon them by the brave CUSTINE, through a severity of zeal which cannot be approved.

Decree



*Decree by which Savoy was united to France, in the Sitting of the 27th of November, 1792.*

THE National Convention, after having heard the Report of its Constitutional and Diplomatic Committees, and having recognized it to be the free and universal wish of the Sovereign People of Savoy, manifested in its Assemblies of the *Commons*, to incorporate itself with the French Republic; considering that Nature, and their respective relations and interests, render this union advantageous to the two Nations, declares its acceptance of the proposed union, and that, from this moment, *Savoy* forms an integral part of the French Republic.

ARTICLE I. The National Convention decrees, that *Savoy* shall provisionally form an Eighty-fourth Department, under the name of the Department of *Mont Blanc*.

ART. II. The Primary and Electoral Assemblies shall constitute themselves, according to the established Laws, without delay, in order to name Deputies to the National Convention.

ART. III. This Department shall provisionally send Ten Deputies to the National Convention.

ART. IV. Four Commissaries, taken from the Convention, shall be sent to the Department of *Mont Blanc*, to proceed to the organizing this Department provisionally.

*National Convention, December 15, 1792.*

THE National Convention, after having heard the Report of the United Finance, Military and Diplomatic Committees, faithful to the Principles of the Sovereignty of the People, *which will not permit them to acknowledge any of the Institutions militating against it*, and willing to fix the Regulations to be observed by the Generals of the Armies of the Republic, in those Countries to which they may carry their Arms, decree—

ARTICLE I. In those Countries which are or shall be occupied by the Armies of the French Republic, the Generals shall immediately proclaim, in the Name of the French Nation, the Abolition of all existing Imposts or Contribution; of Tythes; of all Feudal and Manorial Rights, fixed or casual; of all real or personal Services; of the exclusive right of Hunting and Fishing; of State Labour; of the Nobility; and, generally, all Privileges:—they shall declare to the People, that they bring them Peace, Succours, Fraternity, Liberty, and Equality.

ART. II. They shall proclaim the Sovereignty of the People, and the Suppression of all existing Authorities; they shall then convoke the People in Primary, or the Commonality Assemblies, to create and organize a Provisionary Administration; they shall cause the present Decree, and the Proclamation hereto annexed, to be published and affixed in the language or dialect of the Country, and to be executed without delay in every District.

ART. III. All the Agents and Officers of the former Government, Military or Civil, as well as the Individuals lately reputed Noble, and the Members of any Corporation lately privileged, shall, for the first Election only, be inadmissible to any Place in the Provisional Administration or Judicial Power.

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ART. IV. The Generals shall forthwith place under the protection and safeguard of the French Republic, all property, moveable or immoveable, belonging to the Treasury, to the Prince, to his voluntary Abbettors, Adherents, or Attendants; to the Bodies and Communities, both Civil and Religious: they shall cause to be drawn up, without delay, an exact state thereof, which they shall transmit to the Executive Council; and they shall take every measure in their power to cause such property to be respected.

ART. V. The Provisional Administration, appointed by the People, shall be charged with the inspection and management of all things put under the safeguard and protection of the French Republic; they shall cause the Laws in force to be executed, which relate to the determination of Civil and Criminal Suits, to the Police, and Public Safety; they shall be charged with the Regulation and Payment of the local Expences, and such as shall be necessary for the common Defence; they shall establish Contributions, provided always that they be not levied on the indigent and laborious class of the People.

ART. VI. As soon as the Provisional Administration shall be organized, the National Convention shall name Commissaries from their own Body, to enter into fraternity with them.

ART. VII. The Executive Council shall also name National Commissaries, who shall afterwards repair thither, for the purpose of concerting with the Provisional Administration named by the People, upon the measures to be taken for the common Defence, and upon the means to be employed for procuring the Clothing and Subsistence necessary for the Armies of the Republic, and to discharge the Expences which they have incurred, or shall incur, while they remain upon their Territories.

ART. VIII. The Commissaries named by the Provisional Executive Power, shall transmit to them, every fifteen days, an account of their proceedings, together with their observations subjoined: The Executive Council shall approve or reject them, and afterwards communicate the same to the Convention.

ART. IX. The Provisional Administration named by the People, and the Functions of the National Commissaries, shall cease as soon as the inhabitants, after having declared the Sovereignty, Liberty, and Independence, of the People, shall have organized a free and popular Form of Government.

ART. X. The French Republic shall deliver to the Government which shall be established, an account of the expences which the former shall have incurred in the common defence, and of the sums which it may have received. The French Republic shall make Arrangements for what may remain due; and, in case the common interest should then require the further continuance of the Troops of the Republic on the Foreign Territory, the Republic shall make the necessary Arrangements for their subsistence.

ART. XI. The French Nation declare, *That it will treat as Enemies, the People who, refusing or renouncing Liberty and Equality, are desirous of preserving their Prince and privileged Casts, or of entering into an accommodation with them.* The Nation promises and engages not to lay down its Arms, until the Sovereignty and Liberty of the People on whose Territory the French Armies shall have entered, shall be established; and not to consent to any Arrangement or Treaty with the Princes and privileged persons so dispossessed, with whom the Republic is at War.



*Report of the Minister for Foreign Affairs, in the National Convention, Tuesday, December 18, 1792.*

MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS—The British Parliament, which had been prorogued till the month of January, has just been unexpectedly assembled, and commenced its Sittings on the 13th instant. This extraordinary measure must naturally awaken the attention of this Government on its causes and consequences; and it becomes my duty to apprise the Convention of whatever facts I have been able to come at.

Shortly after the immortal 10th of August, and the change which was then introduced into the form of our Government, the English Minister was pleased to put a stop to every official communication with us, and to recall the Ambassador stationed at our Court, either because he was persuaded that the term of Counter-Revolution and of our Slavery was near at hand, or merely because, as was observed by the *celebrated Orator of the Opposition* in the first Sitting of the British Senate, he thought it indecent and unworthy of His Royal BRITANNIC MAJESTY to have a Representative near an Executive Council, the Members of which had not been annointed by the Holy Oil at the High Altar of *Rheims*. Be this as it may, the Executive Provisional Council has not deemed it necessary to adopt the same plan; on the other hand, it has continued to maintain in London a Minister of the French Republic, and has expressly charged that Minister to omit no opportunity of assuring the British Nation, that notwithstanding the unfavourable disposition of its Government towards France, the French Nation desires nothing more ardently than to merit its esteem, and to preserve the good harmony and friendship which should always subsist between two Generous and Free Nations.

The National Convention has received, on different occasions, the clearest proofs of the reciprocal regard, and of the sincere interest that the English have in the success of our Arms, and in the triumph of French Liberty. But these glorious events have a quite contrary effect upon the English Minister. In a moment, the dread and jealousy of our victories, the entreaties of cowardly Rebels, the vile intrigues of Hostile Courts, and the secret suspicions that the numerous Addresses from all parts of England excited, determined him to more decisive military preparations, and to an immediate assembling of Parliament.

The National Assembly will see that the Speeches subjoined, having for their ostensible and principal intention to oppose the popular fermentation that has for some time prevailed in England, are also, to a certain degree, directed against France, which clearly indicate many imputations which cannot be misunderstood, though expressed in general terms. When the moment arrives of answering these Accusations, the French Government will find no difficulty to justify itself fully. It will appeal to the Sense of all Europe, and to the Testimony of Mr. PITT himself—it will then appear that he ought to be accused of having excited, by the most corrupt means, distrusts, doubts, and disorders.

Certainly, if the Agents themselves, whom we maintain in London, and whose authority is not acknowledged there, could have been legally suspected of those manœuvres which belong to imbecility only; if their conduct had not been at the same time loyal and circumspect, can it be believed that the Members of the English Ministry would have requested to see them confidentially, to hold communications with them, and to grant them secret conferences? I shall lay before any Committees the National Convention shall be pleased to point out, the exact details of these conferences; the complaints, the objections, the replies, as well as the offers and proposals, which have been reciprocally made. I shall also state the instructions which have been given to our Agents under these delicate circumstances; and lastly, the state of the Armaments which have been ordered.

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But these Armaments ought not yet to alarm us, since they are only four ships of the line more than in former years; of the sixteen ships that are ordered, ten are guard-ships, the oldest and worst ships in the English Navy; and the KING has declared, that this Armament will not occasion any extraordinary Tax, and that the sums applied to the Sinking Fund of the National Debt will be sufficient for the purpose. It follows, however, that the pretexts of this Armament are the three following :

- 1st, The opening of the *Scheldt*;
- 2d, Your Decree of the 19th of November:
- 3d, Your supposed Designs against *Holland*.

To the first of these points, a reply has been made by arguments founded on the Right of Nature, on the Right of Man, and on all the principles of Justice and Liberty consecrated by the French Nation, and the full and entire enjoyment of which that Nation could not refuse to the Belgians. It has been replied, that Treaties snatched by cupidity, and consented to by Despotism, could not bind the free and liberated Belgians. A reply has been given by the silence *England* itself preserved in 1785, when the same question was hostilely agitated by JOSEPH the SECOND.

To the second complaint, a reply was made by a frank exposal of the true interests by which the National Convention was impelled, when it framed this benevolent Decree. There are two distinct cases to which this Decree can and ought to be applied, either with respect to the Nations under the dominion of Powers with which we are at War, or with relation to the Countries governed by Powers absolutely Neutral; and here there can be no difficulty. In the first case, the Decree will find its direct application, and that in the most extensive latitude, without giving umbrage to any Foreign Power. By the second hypothesis, it is clear, that the intention of the National Convention has never been to engage itself in making the cause of a few Foreign Individuals the cause of the whole French Nation. But when a Nation kept in subjection by a Despot, shall have had the courage to break its chains; when this Nation, restored to Liberty, shall so have constituted itself as clearly to express its general wish; when this general wish shall call for the assistance and fraternity of the French Nation; it is then that the Decree of the 19th of November will find a natural application; and we doubt whether any one can express a surprise at it. It is then that we shall bestow on a Nation newly freed, a prop, which we ourselves would, under similar circumstances, have desired, and which probably we should have hoped to find from another Free Nation. To this general reply has been added an observation, which has more especially related to the reproach made to us with respect to *Holland*: it is to this effect—  
*"That it was much to be wished, that the British Ministry had never meddled more with the Internal Government of that Republic, than we ourselves wish to meddle."*

In fine, Citizen President, I have charged the Minister of the French Republic at London, to demand a new conference with Lord GRENVILLE, Minister for Foreign Affairs; and after having demonstrated to him the injustice of the views imputed to us, I have authorised him to declare, in the name of the French Republic, that if the intention of the English Minister is to produce, at all events, a rupture with us, as we shall have given every explanation to prove the purity of our intentions, and our respect for the Independence of other Powers, it will then be evident, that the War will be only the War of the British Minister against us; and we will not fail to make a solemn Appeal to the English Nation (*applauses*); we will present to its just and generous Tribunal, the merits of a Cause, in which a great Nation supports the Rights of Nature, of Justice, of Liberty, and of Equality, against a Minister, who shall have provoked this War from personal motives.

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In short, we will leave it to the English Nation to judge between us, and the issue of this contest may lead to consequences which he (the Minister) did not expect.—(Applauded.)

I wait, Citizens, the effect of this Declaration, and will immediately make it known to the National Convention.

It was then moved, that this Paper should be printed, and sent to the Departments.

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*An exact Translation from a Speech made in the National Convention at Paris, (on the 14th of December, in a Debate on the subject of establishing Public Schools for the Education of Youth), by Citizen DUPONT, a Member of considerable weight.—And, as the doctrines contained in it were received with unanimous applause, except from two or three of the Clergy, it may fairly be considered as an Exposition of the Creed of that enlightened Assembly.—Translated from Le Moniteur of Sunday the 16th of December, 1792.*

WHAT! Thrones are overturned! Sceptres broken! Kings expire! And yet the Altars of God remain! (Here there is a murmur from some Members; and the Abbé ICHON demands, that the person speaking may be called to order.) Tyrants, in outrage to Nature, continue to burn an impious incense on those Altars! (Some murmurs arise, but they are lost in the applauses from the majority of the Assembly.) The Thrones that have been reversed, have left these Altars naked, unsupported, and tottering. A single breath of enlightened Reason will now be sufficient to make them disappear. And if Humanity is under obligations to the French Nation for the first of these benefits, the fall of Kings, can it be doubted but that the French People, now Sovereign, will be wise enough, in like manner, to overthrow those Altars and those Idols, to which those Kings have hitherto made them subject?—Nature and Reason, these ought to be the Gods of Men! These are my Gods! (Here the Abbé AUDREIN cried out, "There is no bearing this;" and rushed out of the Assembly—A great laugh!) Admire Nature—cultivate Reason.—And you, Legislators, if you desire that the French People should be happy—make haste to propagate these principles, and to teach them in your Primary Schools, instead of those fanatical principles which have hitherto been taught.

The tyranny of Kings was confined to make their people miserable in this life—but those other tyrants, the Priests, extend their dominions into another, of which they have no other idea than of eternal punishments; a doctrine which some men have hitherto had the good nature to believe. But the moment of the catastrophe is come—all these prejudices must fall at the same time. *We must destroy them, or they will destroy us.* For myself! I honestly avow to the Convention—I am an Atheist! (Here there is some noise and tumult—but a great number of Members cried out—"What is that to us—You are an honest man.") But I defy a single individual, amongst the twenty-four millions of Frenchmen, to make against me any well grounded reproach. I doubt whether the Christians, or the Catholics, of which the last Speaker, and those of his opinion, have been talking to us, can make the same challenge.—(Great applauses). There is another consideration: Paris has great losses: it has been deprived of the commerce of luxury; of that factitious splendour which was found at Courts, and invited strangers hither. Well! We must repair these losses.—Let me then represent to you the times that are fast approaching, when our Philosophers, whose names are celebrated throughout Europe—PETION, SYEYES, CONDORCET, and others—surrounded in our Pantheon, as the Greek Philosophers were at



at Athens, with a crowd of disciples coming from all parts of Europe, walking like the Peripatetics, and teaching—this Man, the system of the Universe, and developing the progress of all human knowledge; that unperfectioning the Social System, and shewing in our Decree of the 17th of June 1789, the seeds of the Insurrection of the 14th of July, and the 10th of August, and of all those Insurrections which are spreading with such rapidity throughout Europe—so that these young strangers, on their return to their respective countries, may spread the same lights, and may operate for the happiness of mankind, similar Revolutions throughout the World.

(Numberless applauses arose, almost throughout the whole Assembly—and in the Galleries.)

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*The Speech of KERSAINT to the French National Convention, with the Resolutions of that Body respecting a War with England.*

THE National Convention transmit to you (*the Members of the Executive Council*) the Report of the Minister for Foreign Affairs, on the conduct of the English Government, together with the proposition I have had the honour to submit to you, for the purpose of preparing for a Naval War, if the safety and dignity of the Republic should render such a measure necessary.

I shall divide my sentiments on this very important subject into two parts. In the first, I shall endeavour to point out the designs of the English Minister. In the second, I shall consider the probable consequences that will ensue from the War with which we are now threatened.

Should the Court of London declare War against us, we shall immediately ascertain what Maritime Powers coalesce; we may also rest assured, that we shall have to contend with them all, and at one period. Of their number—of their hostile inclinations, I entertain no doubt: I entertain doubts only of the extent of their power. The Governments of England, of Spain, of Holland, of Russia, of Portugal, are all your enemies, for they are all \* \* \*—of these, however, let us concentrate our attention on the most powerful; let us direct our view to that Government that waxes the rod of power over a people, who, enjoying a degree of Liberty, have on that account been formidable to us in a period when we were slaves; let us consider well the extent of the resources of this Government; let us develope its intention; let us attempt to discover the object to which they tend. In the conduct of the English Government, I perceive the action of three distinct principles, all foreign, I hope, to the inclinations of the People of England.

1. The hatred which the King of England bears towards the French, and the apprehensions entertained by His Majesty with respect to the security of his Crown; apprehensions which have alone occasioned his sincere regard for Louis XVI. a regard that has received an accession of strength from the support of those natural and declared enemies of France, the members of the Aristocracy and Episcopacy of England.

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2. The alarm and uneasiness of the Prime Minister, Mr. PITT, who for eight years has reigned Lord Paramount of England, and whose fall is alike threatened by the tempests of a Revolution, and the storms of a War. This second principle is connected with the first, by the Aristocracy of Finance, and by those numerous agents whom those men find it necessary to employ; and this knot, in the event of a war, will receive such a degree of tension, that England will endeavour to resist in vain.

3. The ambition and the genius of Mr. Fox, and the intrigues of Opposition, who take advantage of every event that tends to diminish the popularity of the English Minister; who having artfully encouraged hopes and expectations of Reformation, in order to agitate the minds of the People, have converted those hopes and those expectations into fears and apprehensions. This consequence, which they did not foresee, has left them at the mercy of the English Government, and has drawn upon their heads a chastisement sufficient to convince free men of the dangers of party and of intrigue. If we seek the cause of this effect, perhaps fatal to the world, we shall find it in the character of that great Orator, who, by the force of genius, keeps alive the reputation of a Party, the last weak support of the Defenders of the Liberty of England.—The friend of Men, the parasite of Kings, the vigorous opposer of the English Administration, the superstitious admirer of the English Constitution, a popular Aristocrate, a Democratic Loyalist; Mr. Fox has but one object in view, that of hurling his rival from his throne, and of retrieving at once so many parliamentary defeats, not less injurious to his in erest than inimical to his reputation.

In this eventful period, his more prudent antagonist must bring the whole extent of his power into action. He must court popularity, while he cherishes the Aristocracy of his party. He must bow to Royalty, even while he waves the wand of Despotism. In the midst of war, should a war take place, he must endeavour to preserve his power undiminished, and whatever events may happen, he must be possessed of the same ascendancy which the Opposition attack even in the bosom of peace.

In England it is a fact so well known, as to be an established axiom in politics, that the Minister who declares war never sees the end of it. Mr. PITT knows that a war will put a period to the existence of his power. Mr. PITT consequently would willingly avoid a war. But what is the will of other interested parties? The King desires a \* \* for obvious reasons. Mr. Fox would draw the Minister into an ambuscade, and force him to defend the unpopular conduct of Government. Mr. PITT, with a hope of not being reduced to the necessity of a war, offers to mediate among the Belligerent Powers. He knows that all the members of Administration are his tools; he possesses eloquence, the key of the Treasury, and the theory of corruption. The Satellites that move around him, Emigrants from France, and the Aristocrates of England, point out to him two modes of conduct, both of which he means to adopt. The one is to arrest us in our rapid career of victory by land, by threatening us with a Naval War. The other is, to bring us, by dint of his mediation, to terms of accommodation with our Enemies.

These ideas have seduced him.—The *Bird's Eye prospect* that has been afforded him of our situation, has induced him to consider success certain; and indeed, our internal agitations, the apparent disorder that has infused itself into our Legislative discussions, the amount of our expences, the quarrels of parties; all these external characteristics of one of the most violent convulsions that ever agitated the political body of any Nation, in some degree justify his expectations. But he forgets that a sense of public danger will re-unite us. He forgets that those agitations which have made so much noise, express the extent of our strength; a strength



that never can belong to a body enfeebled by disorder and disease. He forgets, that though our expences are great, they bear but very little proportion to our resources. He forgets that France has but one voice, and that we possess still several millions, of which we cannot make a more honourable use than by employing them in the establishment of our independence, both external and internal. He forgets that the number of our enemies, instead of discouraging us, will stimulate us to activity more energetic, and will call our resources into action more vigorous and effectual. He forgets that a people who stretch forth their arm with one accord, who unanimously venture their lives and fortunes in the common cause, can never, never be subdued. Finally, he forgets that we can never want soldiers or money, and that the number of our enemies cannot appal men who are placed in the glorious necessity of being forced to conquer or die.

If England, without any provocation, in contempt of the Law of Nations, declares war against us, remember, O my Countrymen, the conduct of Cortez, who set fire to his ships in the presence of his troops just landed on the plains of Mexico.

Having now considered the situation of the English Government, suffer me to arrest your attention to the dispositions of the English People, who are not yet reduced to that state of degradation to pass for nothing in the consideration of an impending rupture with this country.—We are accustomed by the generic name of English, to mean three different descriptions of people, whom nature has separated, whom force has re-united, whom interest incessantly dis-unites, and whom the principles of our Revolution have affected in a very different manner.

The English People, like all conquerors, have for a long while oppressed Scotland and Ireland; but it is necessary to remark, that these two latter Nations, always restless, and secretly revolting at the injustice of the English, have acquired at different epochs conceptions which permit them now to hope that they shall at length obtain their ancient Independence.—I pause not here to make observations on the differences which agitate Ireland and England. Every one is acquainted with the Parliament of Ireland, her Lord Lieutenant, and that species of Liberty which she procured by force during the American War. But every one does not know the machinations used by the Parliament of England to arrest the operation of the natural industry of Ireland, and to check the extension of her commerce. The Catholics of that country are still subject to the Gothic and barbarous laws of those intolerant days in which they were enacted; and in this *half-way* state of independence, they seem, with eyes directed towards us, to say, “Come, shew yourselves, and we shall be free.”

The Scotch groan under other sorrows. Ever since the Union, Scotland has been represented in Parliament, but in a manner so disproportionate to her wealth, her extent and her population, that she is not in fact any more than a Colony dependant on England; the Scotch, however, know their rights, and the amount of their resources. The principles of the French Revolution have been firmly defended in that Country, and those defenders have been honoured with the first persecutions of the English Government; but these persecutions have made converts, and no where has greater satisfaction at our successes been evinced, than in the Cities of Scotland, in the chief of which public illuminations have been made.

Ireland and Scotland, attentive to the progress of the French Revolution, know in what manner we have spoken of the English People. It will be difficult to persuade them that it is necessary, in contempt of all the principles of Equity, to pay fresh taxes to carry on a war against us, because we have procured for a people the use of a river that gives them a free com-



communication with the ocean, and opens even to the English a more direct mode of communication with the Belgic Provinces. But are the English People speaking openly, in a temperament of mind hostile to the French; or can the English Government direct that temperament at will? I must confess that the inhabitants of London, and of the principal Cities of England, have conducted themselves in the present crisis with profound address.—Such is the power of the English Government, that it is almost omnipotent—it binds a multitude of men by the chain of interest.—The mercantile and revenue Aristocracy abound in greater proportion in England than they did in France previous to the Revolution of 1789—these men are now the auxiliaries of the Court and the Parliament; and they make a great noise about our confusion, our anarchy, our weakness, and the events of those days which we would willingly blot from the historic page; they alarm the Country Gentlemen—the Bishops and the rest of the Clergy assist them with all their might—with their natural weapon, hypocrisy, they take advantage of their credit with the people, to extinguish the impression made upon their minds by our successes, and by those truths which we have proclaimed to the world.

You have not forgotten, you never can forget, that the Government of England carried on a war against her Colonies, in opposition to the wishes of the People, and solely for the purpose of indulging the inclinations of \*\*\*\*.

O England! formerly the Land of Freedom—O England, the birth-place of SIDNEY, of MILTON, what friend of man can now behold thee without a tear? who can view with unconcern the Tower of London transformed into a mansion not very dissimilar to that which the English themselves surveyed with such horror in Paris? who can see without emotion the Liberty of the Press invaded, and the freedom of opinion banished from the land where those two pillars of the public weal were erected by the tutelary genius of the Rights of Man? PRIESTLEY the Philosopher persecuted, PAINE proscribed, COOPER and WALKER attacked even in their houses, for having dared to think that man was free.

Such is at this moment the condition of this once famous Island; the ascendancy of the Aristocracy, of the Nobility, of the Clergy, and of the rich Men, is such in London, that our debates, read with such avidity, heard with such attention, and holding such rank in the history of this Country, are industriously banished from the capital.—Who would believe it?—The Inquisition of Spain never acted with more art than the Government of England does at this moment, to influence the opinion of the people, and to awaken in their minds their ancient prejudices against us, for the purpose of intercepting the light of truth in a Country which they would consign to ignorance and slavery.

The watchful conduct, however, of the Government of England, its fears and its jealousies, afford proofs of the progress which the opinions of the French Revolution have made.

It is not with his Wealth, his Priests, and his Lords, that Mr. PITT will arm his soldiers and his sailors—He can only arm them by deluding the people—we must therefore withdraw the veil from their eyes, and if a fleet should be detached against us, why should not the French Admiral address the English Sailors in the following manner:

‘Englishmen, men who have fought against the despotism of their King; who have driven from their country the Armies of two of the most powerful Military Nations of Europe, are still forced to fight to defend their liberties. You ought to be well aware of the cause you are come to avenge. Have the French invaded your country? Have they interrupted your Navigation, insulted your Nation, refused to discharge towards your fellow-citizens the duties of hospitality? Have you, in the wide-spread extent of your Empire, one charge to make against the Agents of the Republic? No.—Since, then, nothing can justify the war into which you are dragged, and



and since without reason, our blood is to tinge those waves which we ought to press in peace, and on which we ought to embrace as Brothers—extend to us your hands in amity—Frenchmen have said, that “men are born equally free—that laws ought to have for their object the enjoyment of Liberty and Equality; these they have called the Rights of Man.”—O People of England! this is the crime of which the French have been guilty. It has armed against them Kings, Lords, Priests; for these, men banish from their system of morality and politics all ideas of Equality. But the French appeal to your conscience, and to your unbiassed reason—Will you make war with them because they have promulgated your rights and their own? Is it true that the effects of these truths have enraged those who every where oppress and despise their species, and who dare to enjoy in the bosom of wealth those luxuries which are procured by the sweat and labour of their fellow-creatures? But will you who are brought to fight us, you, whose strength and courage are about to be exerted on the side of avarice and ambition, will you assist those who despise you?—Answer us—what is your condition? what are your hopes? and what will be the effect of your endeavours, should you triumph, or otherwise? We will inform you. If we fail, Liberty will be banished from Europe, perhaps from the world for ever. If we succeed, you will be free; for it is for the Rights of Man that we contend, and if you are men, our victory will be your own. Speak now, do you wish to contend against us? answer us, are you our enemies, or our friends?

Perhaps this Address, if it were heard by the People of England, would terminate all our anxieties, and would attach to us even that Nation that now seems hostile to us. The conviction of those truths I have delivered, has infused itself into the minds of many persons in England. Government will fear the disclosure of them.—The event of a war will accelerate it.

This Observation recalls me more immediately to the subject in discussion.

In recurring to the observations I have made, I can only discover additional motives to confirm me in my former opinion of the ultimate views of Mr. PITT—he wishes to avert the consequences of our Revolution from England—he hopes, at least, by his Armaments and his Negotiations, to turn the current of the public dissatisfaction from a particular object, by the expectation of a war, which he will not enter into till he has excited the ancient prejudices of the People of England, and established a malecontent party in France.—I believe that he will be disappointed in both his expectations, particularly in that which relates to us—he judges our country by his own—France emancipated, France cannot be influenced by fear.—She will receive laws only from herself.—One or two men govern \*\*\*\*\*—here the public opinion governs us.—In\*\*\*\*\* two parties dispute the possession of power—in France, we contend only for the applause of the People.—In \*\*\*\*\* Ministers are the rulers of the Nation—in France, they are but Clerks. Mr. PITT acknowledges the Government only in his own popularity—in France, it is acknowledged in the Will of the People. I will attempt to develop the character of this man, whose errors may become, in the crisis, so fatal to the world. Let him attend to me—Let him know that there is no similitude between a country that oppresses Liberty and France, where Liberty appears on the horizon, for the first time, free from Aristocratic attachments, “*glittering like the morning star, full of life, and splendour, and joy.*”—Let him know that we fear not Kings, and that if we suffer our late Monarch to exist, we will not permit him to make Treaties that are not ratified by the Nation.

Let him know that we can live in peace with Kings, but that we can only fraternize with the People. Let him know that we will make Peace only on conditions that are honourable to ourselves, and that shall confirm the independence of that people from whose shoulders we have removed the galling yoke. Let him know that we fear not War, and that the first gun fired on the



the seas will impose upon us the duty of emancipating Holland, Spain, and South America—a duty not above our courage and our resources, aided as we are in all those countries by the evident interests of the people, and by a majority that invites us thither.

- In short, let him know that the Anarchists of every description are fallen into contempt; that their dupes will not long remain so; and that our agitations are like those of the Ocean;—the surface indeed is moved, but the mass is tranquil.

I now proceed to examine the consequences of the war with which we are threatened, and to reason upon the supposition, that the war with England should draw us into a general war with all the Powers of Europe.—Let not this truth alarm us; our interest requires, that in this struggle there should be no Neutrals; and if we are obliged to it, I propose that we should make this general Proclamation, addressed to all Nations—"That in a war of Kings against Men, we can only acknowledge friends or enemies." Policy counsels this resolution, apparently desperate, but the motives for which I am now to explain: England is a power so preponderant in Commerce and Navigation, that other Nations are, as it were, the Factors only of their business. France stands alone on her own industry and riches. But Spain, Portugal, and Holland, and the little Republics of Italy, traffic on the capital and produce of English industry; and the treasures of the New World, and those of Asia, are at this moment tributary to the active industry of the merchants and manufacturers of that Nation. Denmark, Sweden, and Russia, have an apparent fund of Commerce in their naval stores, which seem peculiar to themselves. But this fund of commerce even is exchanged by the English Merchants, nor is there a lucrative branch of traffic that is not carried on to the profit of this truly mercantile people.

I know that it is a bold and hardy enterprize to declare singly against a world of enemies. But if great hazards are connected with such an enterprize, it offers also great resources. Were we to attack the Nations themselves, the proposition would be ridiculous, and would not merit a discussion; but the people would be in this war but a passive instrument, and as they must experience losses without indemnification, they would be most easily convinced that it was unjust, and their voices who fought us, would at last join in our triumphs.—We have not sufficiently reflected on the advantages of Nations who fight in a body, who make war for themselves, for whom it is a common cause. There is a use in recollecting, now Europe menaces us with a general war, what weak Nations, when devoted, when resolved as we are, to live free or die, have done in circumstances nearly similar. A review of the courageous resistance of the Athenians, whose territory in extent and population did not equal the least of our Departments—of the terrible war they supported for thirty eight years against all the neighbouring Nations—which was as fatal to Greece as to the Athenians themselves—is the greatest monument that History has transmitted us of the courage, the ferocity, and the genius of man—It is also a proof of what the genius of Liberty may effect.

A more recent example presents itself, that of the Dutch shaking off the yoke of Philip II. "A little nook of land (says Voltaire) almost drowned in the sea, which subsisted by catching herrings, is become a formidable power; it checked Philip II. despoiled his successors of nearly all they possessed in the East-Indies, and in the end became their protectors." So much greatness was the work of Philip's persecution: ours shall be the fruit of the persecution of all the Kings of Europe; but it will cost us our treasures! Be it so, if war impoverishes us, it will force us to change our manners, and put us on a par with the spirit of the Revolution. A sea war will bring our armies to the defence of our frontiers, and it is in these we shall be invincible; and if Spain, England, and Holland, attack us, Asia and America will call aloud to



us. Let us vigorously push our enterprize into these rich countries. Let us recollect it was a Pope who gave America to Spain.

If we consider the vast field that this hardy resolution opens to the courage and activity of our sailors, the vast resources that it presents to you; if you rest your thoughts upon that multitude of vessels, richly freighted, which will be the frequent prey of your Privateers; if in a sea war, you call together that crowd of wandering men, who are to be found in all the Nations of Europe; if you adopt them and associate them in your enterprizes; if this Nation, whose maritime commerce must be suspended the moment a war commences, directs its resources and enterprize towards the warlike operations of the Navy, in concert with the Government; if you attack at once with your whole force (for a Naval War must be essentially offensive), the richest possessions of Spain, Portugal, Holland, and England, you will then see those Powers, astonished at their defeat, feel their resources drying up, for you will have struck the spring of their riches.

The credit of England rests upon fictitious wealth, the real riches of this People are scattered every where, and is essentially personal estate. Bounded in Territory, the public fortune of England is found almost wholly in its Bank, and this edifice is totally supported by the wonderful activity of their Naval Commerce. Asia, Portugal, and Spain, are the most advantageous markets for the productions of English industry; we should shut these markets to the English, by opening them to all the world.

We must attack Lisbon and the Brazils, and carry an auxiliary Army to Tippoo Sultan.

Portugal, with respect to defence, is a nullity. A fleet which should penetrate the Tagus, after having exhausted the Country by contributions, after having destroyed the arsenals, should terminate its successes by first taking, and then liberating Brazil.

An Expedition directed against the English East Indies would, at the same time, threaten the establishments of Holland, the important Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, Batavia, Ceylon, &c. &c. There you would meet only with men enervated by luxury, soft beings that would tremble before the Soldier of Liberty.

The Spaniard bears in the recesses of his soul the mark of a high mind, which renders him worthy to be free; in Europe he would weakly defend the cause of the Bourbons; in America he calls to you, and you ought to march to Mexico, while you menace the English; for this mass of enemies will present you with a valuable advantage; that each will be forced to put itself on the guard, and you will no where have more than one at once to engage.

The Republics of Italy offer you maritime prizes, of which the loss will fall on the English Commerce, from the superior interest of the London Merchants in their cargoes. The forces of these little States are nothing in themselves, and may, by falling into your hands, serve to assist and strengthen yours.

England, Spain, Holland, and Russia, present a considerable *numerical* force in ships, but I see only the English and the Russians who can act together.

Spain must be busied in the defence of her numerous possessions.

If



If you push war in Zealand with vigour, you will nip the naval force of the Stadtholder in the bud, and the Patriotic Party, which has so long called you to its assistance, will, with your aid, soon prevent it from springing into strength.

If you direct a naval war as you ought, you will indemnify yourself for the expences of a land war; and perhaps, after the examples of the Athenians and the Dutch, France, all powerful as she is in her armies, will be indebted for the consolidation of her liberties to her naval force.

All your foreign possessions are at this moment a surcharge to you, which cost you treasures, and return you none. If the English seize them, your captures will be lucrative on the other hand, and the emancipation of Mexico will balance the loss of a few little islands.

But your Colonies will defend themselves with bravery, and it is very possible your enemies will fail in their enterprize, for the warlike spirit has already displayed itself; the civil war, and the forces which circumstances have obliged us to support there, and those which you have recently sent, will put them in a respectable state of defence. I have this opinion, that the parties there will unite to remain Frenchmen, and that they seize this opportunity to prove their attachment to the Mother Country. If they prove ungrateful children, they neither merit your efforts nor your regret. If in the end the English become masters of your Colonies, it will be forced to keep them, and this surcharge will weaken them, while your forces, disengaged, will secure ample possessions to you elsewhere.

I suppose that your enemies will attempt an invasion of your coast; do you doubt of their being repelled by our brave coast guards? England, threatened with an invasion, and having only her ships to defend her, will be obliged to keep at home a great part of her fleet and army for her internal defence.

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But the Russians—Will the Turks give no uneasiness to the Russians? and the Swedes, the only people who seem to hold out the hand to us; will they make no effort to stop the barbarians who threaten their liberty? In any case, the Russians and Dutch confederated, will be checked in the English ports by our fishing vessels, always in readiness to transport there one hundred thousand French: for by this expedition we must terminate the quarrel, and form with the English a Treaty, which shall regulate the destiny of Nations, and found the Liberty of the World.

It results from the particular and general considerations to which we have called your attention, that constant and firm in your principles, you should avoid the provocation of a war, but that equally distant from every fear, you ought to be ready to repel all unjust aggressions; that the war with which you are menaced, should be fatal to those who shall provoke it, and that you should prepare to sustain yourselves with vigour against England and her Allies.

I therefore propose to you to pass the following Decree:

- I. To declare that the French are ready for War—ready to form an Alliance—with the English People.
- II. To order the equipment of *thirty* ships of the line, and *twenty-four* frigates. To put the coasts into a state of defence, and to send into all the Maritime Departments, Commissioners charged to superintend every thing that may assure success in a War.

III. To



III. To examine the situation of the Agents of the French Republic with Foreign Powers, and to render their situation less precarious, without delay.

IV. To form a Committee of General Defence, taking three Members from each of the following Committees—the Marine, War, Diplomatic, Commercial, and Financial.

The Assembly adopted the last of KERSAINT's propositions, and referred the others to the examination of the Committee whose formation they had decreed.

*Reply of General HARVILLE to the Remonstrance of the Provisional Representatives of the City of Namur, against the Decree of the National Convention of the 15th of December.*

*"Quarters General at Namur, Dec. 27, 1792—First year of the French Republic.*

"CITIZENS, I have received a Letter in which you require of me the Suspension of the publication of the Decree of the 15th instant, made by the French Convention. You are of opinion that it militates against the liberty of the Belgic Provinces; and guided by the example of several other Cities, you are about to remonstrate to the Deputies of the French Nation, against the dispositions of this Decree. Lastly, you testify your apprehension that this Decree may produce, between the two Nations, a misunderstanding, which your design is calculated to bring about.

"To this language I shall reply by that of true Republican frankness and loyalty.

1st, I cannot acknowledge in the Administrators of the City of *Namur*, confusedly, precipitately, and irregularly chosen and formed, and consisting in part of men interested in the ancient abuses, enemies to the Liberty of the People—I cannot acknowledge, I say, these Administrators to be the Representatives of the Province of *Namur*.

2dly, Your opposition, and your reflections, will therefore appear to me merely those of a Provisional and *Subaltern* Body, in the hierarchy of its political powers, and not those of a Sovereign People.

3dly, I find that you have no idea of the Liberty about which you seem to alarm yourselves. For my part, who believe myself better acquainted with it, I think with all France, that this very Liberty—that the accomplishment of all the promises of our Republic to the *Belgians*, essentially depends on the abolition of all distinctions, of all those odious burthens on the People, which constituted the regimen, whether Despotic or Aristocratic, of your ancient Government.

4thly, It is clear, that when the Belgic People shall be entirely freed from all their shackles, when all the Citizens interested in the Common Liberty, shall be able to shake off the influence of charges, honours, powers, and distinctions, they will then be enabled to create a Constitution freely chosen by the greater number, for the good of whom the Societies should be organized. If your Nation, placed in this independent point of view by the French Republic, could still deceive itself in the choice of the means of felicity, it would blindly, but at least freely, be desirous of this deception. It is not under the weight of ancient chains that Man can



can push on towards Liberty; this weight, more or less heavy, would drag it towards the earth, and it could not, after its vain efforts, do any other than crawl beneath the empire, or strength, or cunning. I shall make a comparison—you resemble certain Architects, friends of luxury, and decorations, who wish to preserve the remains of a building adorned by the devices of Antiquity, but who nevertheless insist, that it is impossible to construct, on the same scite, a commodious house on a modern plan, for a simple and modest Proprietor, who does not love Architecture and the uncouth relics of Antiquity. My opinion is, that *your ancient Prison* ought to be destroyed, to the end that it may be replaced by an Edifice, the combination of which may be hampered by no ancient trace. Every frank and sensible man must agree in the justice of this principle.

“ I am sensible that pride and personal interest can spur on in destroying the great reason of the public weal; but do you really think that if I consulted the Country People, the Artisans and Labourers, all those men whom luxury reduced to be the slaves of the vanity of the privileged Classes—do you think, I say, that they would demand, like you, the suspension of a Decree which exempts them from manorial drudgery, from the duties of Excise, from Feudal Rights and Servitude, and which restores to them all the dignity which belongs to Man, in declaring them to be Members of the Sovereign, and susceptible of holding all public charges? No, Citizens; and did I even ask them, they would assure me that your wish, decorated with the fine name of the love of Liberty, is not that of the People, your Sovereign.

“ I will, however, give you, Citizens, a proof of my respect even for the shadow of your Liberty, in referring your Letter to the Deputies of the Representatives of France; but I assure you that nothing shall stop me, as soon as I shall have received their farther Resolutions.

“ As to the tempest with which you seem to threaten us, it is your own business, especially if your Liberty is so dear to you, to prevent it; and I am sorry to be constrained by yourselves to intimate to you, that its not he that sails before the wind, and whose power and skill do guide the helm, that fears tempests and shipwrecks. If prejudices could bring it about to destroy that harmony which we have cultivated with solicitude, that fraternity which would prove so sweet to us, I would then show you *an hundred and twenty thousand men in Belgia*, nay all *France*, and you would see that we are neither without strength nor without courage, to fell to the ground those monsters who should have diffused the poison of discord. But, God forbid, Citizens, ignorance, personal interest, and prejudices, should ever bring matters to that point: peace and concord will, I hope, be always our common motto, and I will support it with all my efforts. Besides, I, the Officers and Soldiers of the Republic, shall be vigilant, our eye shall be every where, and woe betide the Incendiaries and Conspirators.

(Signed)

“ Lieutenant-General

“ AUGUSTUS HARVILLE.”

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*Extract of a Letter from the Minister of Marine, to the Sea Ports, dated Paris, 31st December, 1792*

THE Government of England is arming, and the King of Spain, encouraged by this, is preparing to attack us. These two Tyrannical Powers, after persecuting the Patriots on their own Territories, think no doubt that they shall be able to influence the judgment to be pro-

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nounced



nounced on the Traitor, Louis. They hope to frighten us; but, no; a People who has made itself free; a People who has driven out of the bosom of France, and as far as the distant borders of the Rhine, the terrible Army of the Prussians and Austrians—the People of France will not suffer Laws to be dictated to them by any Tyrant.

The King and his Parliament mean to make War against us. Will the English Republicans suffer it? Already these free men shew their discontent, and the repugnance which they have to bear arms against their Brothers, the French. Well! we will fly to their succour. We will make a descent in the Island: we will lodge there Fifty Thousand Caps of Liberty; we will plant there the sacred Tree, and we will stretch out our arms to our Republican Brethren. *The Tyranny of their Government will soon be destroyed.* Let every one of us be strongly impressed with this idea.

(Signed)

MONGE.



# EXTRACTS

FROM THE

## RESOLUTIONS OF THE ENGLISH SOCIETIES.

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### SOCIETY FOR CONSTITUTIONAL INFORMATION.

May 18, 1792.

——— “ Establishing the general Freedom of Europe,  
“ In this best of Causes we wish you success.”

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*Holborn Society of the Friends of the People; instituted 22d November 1792, for the Purpose of  
Political Investigation.*

*Pages 2, and 3.*

“ It is an insult to the Feelings of Englishmen, to suppose they can sanction the political enormities of the present day—generous in their nature, they shudder at every species of devastation and rapine—they cannot, nor will they sanction a formidable mass of corruption.—They are not so criminally blind, as to smile with complacency on those whose highest distinction is plunder—nor are they so totally ignorant, as to estimate any man's time equal to the liberty of robbing them of so much of their Property as to be enabled to riot for a time, in all the Luxuries and Dissipations of Life, and afterwards retire loaded with Riches and Pensions. But let us turn indignantly from this contemptible Picture, and hail the speedy approach of General Happiness—hail the moment when the ætherial blaze of Friendship will spread from Pole to Pole—when religious animosities will cease, and when Society will forget all distinctions but those of wisdom and virtue. Hail the happy days when the Wretchedness of Poverty will be ameliorated, and the Pride of Riches vanish before the Pleasures of extending Happiness to surrounding objects.



objects. Oh! hail! hail Britons! hail! the happy period of universal knowledge advances with slow but steady pace. Man begins more generally to feel himself the Friend of his own Species—Reason is re-assuming her empire, and kindling a flame of Benevolence never more to be extinguished.

“Citizens, Soldiers and Sailors, of all Nations, Empires, Kingdoms, and States, you likewise are interested in this great subject—we feel for you—you are united to Civil Society by the bands of Nature—you are constituted from among us—you are our Friends, our Brethren—you have Relations of every description with us—Fathers, Mothers, Brothers, and Sisters; nay, even Wives and Children—all join with us in ardently panting for your preservation, and deploring your hardships—all shrinking with horror at the diabolical practice of coolly bartering your precious lives for the most mercenary purposes. Ah! brave, but ill-fated Men—dare to think, and even dare to avow, that nothing but the good of Society shall influence your arms—dare to be the Friends of oppressed Virtue, and the terror of overbearing Vice—your own situation, together with that of Society, demands those exertions. We invite you, therefore, to participate with us in the glorious Cause of Freedom—and peaceably to unite in investigating the sources of all our grievances.”

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*The Soldier's Friend; or, Considerations on the late pretended Augmentation of the Subsistence of the Private Soldiers.*

Page 5.

“If any thing done in that wise and equal Representation of the People, called the House of Commons, were worth a thought from a Man of Sense; if any weakness or absurdity of theirs could at this day possibly create the least astonishment, one might think it wonderful, that Members should sit, and silently hear their understandings thus insulted, and see their acts, as it were, trampled under foot before their faces!”

Page 7. “And here I cannot help observing, that this Assembly seems, by none of its acts, to be worthy of the attribute of *Omnipotence*, so often bestowed on it, than by its donations, for how exactly does the manner of those correspond with that promise in Scripture—*Ask and it shall be given unto you?* Their conduct, in this particular, bears an exact resemblance to that of the Father of the Universe, with this little difference, the dispensation of his gifts is the result of infinite Wisdom, and the cause of universal Order and Happiness, while theirs—

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Page 12. ——— “the close connection that exists between the *ruling Faction* in this Country, and the Military Officers—this connection ever must exist while we suffer ourselves to be governed by a Faction.”

The



*The Patriot.—Tuesday, December 11, 1792.*

Page 186. "Thus is a Nation pillaged—thus is an overbearing, haughty, and supercilious race of Men called Nobility, supported in pampered luxury and idleness, by the toil and labour of the industrious Community, for the purpose of oppressing that Community by a constant support of every measure proposed by any profligate Court, and abandoned and prodigal Administration."

Page 214.—"Upon this, the most favourable view of the Representation, what right have seven millions of people to boast of a free and glorious Constitution, and of exercising the power of granting their own money?"

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*Address of the London Corresponding Society, to the other Societies of Great Britain, united for obtaining a Reform in Parliament.*

Page 14. "The House of Commons may have been the source of our calamity; it may prove that of our deliverance. Should it not, we trust we shall not prove unworthy our Forefathers, whose exertions in the Cause of Mankind so well deserve our imitation."

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*The London Corresponding Society's Addresses and Resolutions. (Reprinted)*

Page 1. "The few who are now permitted to elect Representatives, and those who are chosen by this small number of Electors, disgrace the Country at large by buying and selling Votes, by corrupting and being corrupted—the former by their behaviour at Elections, and the latter by their conduct in the Senate—more than sufficient to prove that the Nation is unrepresented, and that the present system is totally unconstitutional."

Page 2. "Resolved, 5, That in consequence of a partial, unequal, and therefore inadequate Representation, together with the corrupt method in which Representatives are elected, oppressive Taxes, unjust Laws, restrictions of Liberty, and wasting of the public Money, have ensued."

*Ibid.* Resolv. 7. "That a fair, equal, and impartial representation can never take place until all partial privileges are abolished."

Page 3. — — — — — "where the whole of the supposed Representation of the People is neither more nor less than an usurped power, arising either from abuses in the mode of Election and Duration of Parliaments, or from a corrupt property in certain decayed Corporations, by means of which the Liberties of this Nation are basely bartered away for the private profit of Members of Parliament."

Page 6. "Let him then ask himself, whether it be the part of a good Citizen to sit quiet under such abuses, which have not only increased, but are at this moment increasing; and which ought therefore to be remedied without delay."

"Till the reign of HENRY VI. it was not necessary for the Inhabitant of a County to have a Freehold Estate of 40s. a-year, in order to vote for the Representative of his County. But the statute of that King, passed in the year 1429, under pretence of preventing disputes at Elections,



Elections, most unjustly deprived a great part of the Commons of this Nation, of the Right of consenting to those Taxes, which, notwithstanding, they were compelled to pay just as if such right had not been taken from them.

" Till the reign of Queen ANNE, it was not necessary for the Inhabitant of a County to have 600l. a-year, Freehold or Copyhold Estate, in order to his being elected the Representative of his County. But the Statute of that Queen, passed in the year 1710, under pretence of the Freedom of Parliament, excluded all persons not possessed of such a property, from our Representation, whatever be their principles, their abilities, or their integrity.

" Till the reign of WILLIAM III. Parliaments were of right to be called *once a-year*, or oftener if need be. But the Statute of that King, passed in the year 1694, under pretence of calling them more frequently, enacted, that they should be holden *once in three years* at the least.

" Till the reign of GEORGE I. Parliaments were therefore of three years duration; but the Statute of that King, passed in the year 1715, under pretence of a '*restless Faction*' then existing in the Nation, usurped a power of enacting, that *Parliaments should respectively have continuance for seven years.*"

Page 8. — — — — — " Shall we, the multitude, suffer a few, with no better right than ourselves, to usurp the power of governing us without controul? Surely not—Let us rather unite in one common cause, to cast away our bondage, being assured, that in so doing we are protected by a Jury of our Countrymen, while we are discharging a duty to Ourselves, to our Country, and to Mankind."

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*Address and Declaration of the Society of Constitutional Whigs, Independent, and Friends of the People, united for obtaining equal Liberty by a Parliamentary Reform.*

Page 2. " It has become expedient for THE PEOPLE to associate, for the purpose of obtaining a PARLIAMENTARY REFORM: That through the medium of a fair and equal Representation annually chosen, they may be relieved from a load of Taxes too grievous to be borne, and rendered still more intolerable, *by their Produce being lavished on PLACEMEN and PENSIONERS, and employed in subverting their RIGHTS, by the corruption of their DELEGATES.*"

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*Holborn Society of the Friends of the People; instituted 22d of Nov. 1792, for the purpose of Political Investigation.*

Page 3.—Plan, Art. 7. " If a speedy and effectual Reform should upon investigation appear necessary, it will be the chief object of this Society to discuss the Plan of a National Convention, by which all parties may be fairly and equally represented. Every Member will then be requested to bring forward his ideas, that from the whole an eligible Plan may be adopted."

Southwark



Southwark, April 19, 1792.

*At a Meeting held at the Three Tuns Tavern, Mr. SAMUEL FAVELL, in the Chair.*

*Declaration, Page 2.* "We are told that we have a Constitution.—If it permits these abuses, it is either *not* a good one, or good *only in part*, and defective in its Principles, Constitution, and Effects. The continual applause bestowed upon it by Placemen, Pensioners, Government Contractors, Court Expectants, and the hired Editors of Prostituted Newspapers, has justly excited our suspicion either of its excellence or its existence. It may be good for *THEM*, and not for us: and as we are no longer to be amused with a *Name* or a *Phantom*, we will direct our enquiries to the fact."

*Page 3.* "We are desirous, therefore, of uniting with the several Societies already formed in various parts of the Nation, for promoting an enquiry into, and asserting the Rights of the People."

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*A few Queries to the Methodists in general, &c.*

*Query 7.* "Does not both Reason and Revelation teach us, that in order to lay the axe to the Root of the Tree of Wickedness, we must begin with Kings and Princes, and Bishops and Priests?"

London, October 1792.

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*Address from the London Corresponding Society to the Inhabitants of Great Britain, on the subject of a Parliamentary Reform.*

*Page 3.* ——— "It is highly disgraceful for you to suffer yourselves any longer to be thus enslaved and disposed of as Cattle in a Fair, as irrational Beasts in a Market to the highest Bidder."

*Page 4.* "We will not hurt your feelings by a minute detail of our common grievances, you cannot be ignorant, Friends and Fellow Sufferers, how generally Power, Place, Pension, and Title, are the rewards of men whose Services to the Court have been of the greatest prejudice to the Country—you painfully feel the consequences, increased Taxes, a great part of which are most vilely squandered—a heavy National Debt, begun with a design of forming a powerful and monied Court Party, continued with nearly the same view, unto its present enormous bulk, and from its commencement militating against our Liberties. Too visible are the numerous encroachments on our rights—too common the insolence of Office, the venality of Magistracy, the perversion of the Laws, the letting loose the Military on every occasion, and those occasions eagerly sought. The Subjects' complaints derided—the one part of the Nation turned into Spies and Informers against the other—the ——— but wherefore more? Is here not enough to prove, beyond a doubt, that while we boast the best Constitution, the mildest Laws, the freest Government, we are in fact Slaves?"

*Page 8.* "Persevere and be free, for who shall dare withstand our just demands? Oppression, already trembling at the voice of Individuals, will shrink away and disappear for ever, when the Nation united shall assert its Privileges, and demand their restoration."

*The*



*The Rights of Man, as exhibited in a Lecture, read at the Philosophical Society at Newcastle, &c.*

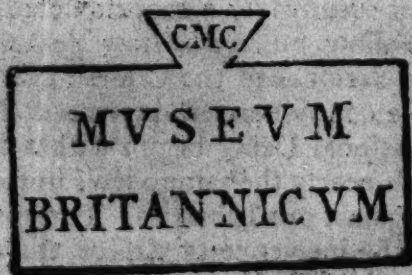
Page 4. (Last Line) "Hence it is plain, that the Land or Earth in any Country or Neighbourhood, with every thing in or on the same, or pertaining thereto, belongs at all times, to the living Inhabitants of the said Country or Neighbourhood in an equal manner. For, as I said before, there is no living but on Land and its Productions, consequently what we cannot live without, we have the same property in, as in our lives."

*Birmingham Society for Constitutional Information—First instituted Nov. 20, 1792.*

Page 7. "At present, that House (Parliament) does not consist of the Representatives of the People, but of Lords and rich Landholders; of Ministers and Borough-Mongers, who buy and sell Seats in Parliament, as 'openly and notoriously as stalls for cattle at a Fair.' Therefore, it is not true that this Government is a Government by King, Lords, and Commons; for the Commons, or People, are not represented. 'The Commons of England in Parliament assembled,' is a phrase false and absurd; it should be, 'The Deputies of the Aristocracy in Parliament assembled.'"

"Declaration." Page 11. "The Constitution of the Legislature is a fraudulent deception."

Page 22. "The present Parliament, for ought we know, may pass a Bill to strip us of all our Possessions, of every thing we hold dear in life; as it is well known that the Minister, and those who vote with him, could carry any measure, however hostile to the interest of the Body of the People, whose *Servants* the House of Commons are."



LIST



## LIST OF CLUBS

WHICH HAVE MET IN LONDON AND WESTMINSTER, FOR THE PURPOSE OF  
DISSEMINATING SEDITIOUS PRINCIPLES,

No.	PLACES OF MEETING.
No. 1. first met at the Bell, Exeter-street, in the Strand, afterwards removed from thence, and the other eight branched from it.	1. One Tun, Strand.
	2. Unicorn, Henrietta-street, Covent-Garden.
	3. Green Dragon, King-street, Golden-square.
	4. Thistle and Crown, Great Peter-street.
	5. Marquis of Granby, Castle-street, Oxford-market.
	6. Nag's Head, Orange-court.
	7. Black Dog, Oxford-market.
	8. Sun, Windmill-street.
	9. Unicorn, Henrietta-street.
	10. Scotch Arms, and at the Wrekin, Huet's-court, Round-court.
	11. Rainbow, Fleet-street, and afterwards at the Three Herrings, Shire-lane; afterwards to a private house, Gray's-Inn-lane.
	12. Coach-maker's Arms, Noble-street, Foster-lane; then at Mansion House, opposite the Mansion House; and then at the Crown, Newgate-street.
	13. Red Lion, Brownlow-street.
	14. Black Swan, Brown's-lane, Spital-fields.
	15. Cock, Cock-court, Villiers-street.
	16. Black Swan, Brown's-lane.
	17. _____
	18. 31, Compton-street.
	19. _____
	20. _____
	21. _____
	22. _____
	23. Ship, Finsbury-place.
	24. Black Swan, Brown's-lane.
	25. Lowe's, Crown-street, Moorfields.
	26. 19, Wych-street; afterwards 31, Compton-street.
	27. _____
	28. _____
	29. Coffee House, Shire-lane, Temple Bar.



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A black and white micrograph showing a single cell with a large, dark, centrally located nucleus. The cytoplasm is lighter and less distinct.

2019-2020

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